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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

OF

LIVERPOOL,

DURING THE

EIGHTY-FIRST SESSION, 1891-92.

No. XLVI.



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- Dec. 14, 1874 Mellor, John, *Grosvenor House, Crosby-road South, Waterloo*
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- 3.—1868 Rev. J. Holding, M.A., F.R.G.S., *London*.
- 4.—1868 George Hawkins, *Colombo, Ceylon*.
- 5.—1868 J. W. Lewis Ingram, *Bathurst, River Gambier*.
- 6.—1869 George Mackenzie, *Cebu, Philippine Islands*.
- 7.—1870 The Venerable Archdeacon Hughes-Games, D.C.L.,
Isle of Man.
- 8.—1874 Samuel Archer, Surgeon-Major, *Singapore*.
- 9.—1874 Coote M. Chambers, *Burrard's Inlet, British Columbia*.
- 10.—1874 Edwyn C. Reed, *Santiago de Chili*.
- 11.—1874 Millen Coughtrey, M.D., *Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand*.
- 12.—1875 Robert Gordon, Government Engineer, *British Burmah*.
- 13.—1877 Edward Duckinfield Jones, C.E., *Sao Paulo, Brazil*.
- 14.—1877 Miss Horatia K. F. Gatty, *Altrincham*.
- 15.—1877 Dr. Allen, *Jamaica*.
- 16.—1877 Dr. George Bennett, *Sydney*.
- 17.—1877 Dr. David Walker, *Benicia, U.S.A.*
- 18.—1883 Wm. Henry Finlay, *Cape Town Observatory*.
- 19.—1884 Rev. W. G. Lawes, *New Guinea*.
- 20.—1884 A. W. Crawford, *Oakland, California*.
- 21.—1884 John Greenwood, Mining Engineer, *Melbourne*.
- 22.—1884 Robert Abraham English, *Simla*.
- 23.—1887 Rev. S. Fletcher Williams, 48 *Westbourne-grove, Scarborough*.
- 24.—1889 St. George Littledale.
- 25.—1889 Mrs. St. George Littledale.
- 26.—1890 Sir Alfred Maloney, K.C.M.G., Governor of Lagos.
- 27.—1890 Captain John Ferguson, s.s. "*Aleppo*," 15 *Norma-road, Waterloo*.
- 28.—1892 J. F. Palmer, L.R.C.P., Lond., M.R.C.S., F.R.Hist.
Soc., 8 *Royal-avenue, Chelsea*.

ASSOCIATES.

LIMITED TO TWENTY-FIVE.

- 1.—Jan. 27, 1862 Captain John H. Mortimer, "America."
(Atlantic.)
- 2.—Mar. 24, 1862 Captain P. C. Petrie. (Atlantic.)
- 3.—Feb. 9, 1863 Captain John Carr, ship "Scindia." (Calcutta.)
- 4.—Feb. 9, 1863 Captain Charles E. Price, R.N.R., ship
"Cornwallis." (Calcutta and Sydney.)
- 5.—April 20, 1863 Captain Fred. E. Baker, ship "Nippon."
(Chinese Seas.)
- 6.—Oct. 31, 1864 Captain Thomson, ship "Admiral Lyons."
(Bombay.)
- 7.—April 13, 1865 Captain Alexander Cameron, ship "Staffordshire."
(Shanghai.)
- 8.—Dec. 11, 1865 Captain Walker, ship "Trenton."
- 9.—Mar. 23, 1868 Captain David Scott.
- 10.—April 7, 1884 Captain G. Griffith Jones, barque "Hermine."
- 11.—Oct. 7, 1889 Arthur G. Nevins, F.R.A.S., *Eastwood-place,*
Hanley, Staffordshire.

LIST OF BOOKS
PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY DURING THE
EIGHTY-FIRST SESSION, 1891-92.

The List includes all Books, &c., received up to September 1, 1892.

A.

- Agriculture, U.S. Government Department, Washington; North American Fauna, no. 5.
Alkali Report (Blue Book) for 1891.
American Association for Advancement of Science. Proceedings, Indianapolis, 1890.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Transactions, xxv.
American Geographical and Geological Survey (Rocky Mountain Region). Contributions to American Ethnology, ii, vi.
American Geographical Society. Bulletin, xxiii, 2-4, xxiv, 1, 2.
"American Naturalist" from May, 1891.
American Philosophical Society: Proceedings, 134-8; Transactions, xvii, 1, 2; List of Members, &c.
Amsterdam, K. Akademie der Wetenschappen; Verslagen en Mededeelingen; Afd. Letterkunde, iii, 7, 8; Afd. Naturkunde, iii, 8; Jaarboek, 1890, 1891; "*Maria Virgo in Monte Calvariae*" and "*Veianius*" (Latin Poems).
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal, xx, 4, xxi, 1-3.
Antiquaries, London, Society of.
Archæological and Natural History Society. See "Somersetshire."

- Architects, Royal Institute of British. Journal, vii, 15-20, viii, 1-19; Transactions, vii; Index.
- Architectural Society, Liverpool. Proceedings, etc., 1891.
- Arts, Society of. Journal from May 15, 1891.
- Arts, Royal Scottish Society of. Transactions, xiii, 1.
- Asiatic Society of Bengal. Proceedings, 1891, nos. 7 to 10; 1892, 1 to 3; Journal, lx, I, 1, 2, 3, II, 2, 3, 4, lxi, I, 1, II, 1.
- Astronomical Society. Monthly Notices, li, 7 to 9, lii, 1 to 7.
- "Astronomy and Astro-Physics," January, 1891.
- Australasian Association for Advancement of Science. Third Meeting, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1891.

B.

- Bath, Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club. Proceedings, vii, 2, 3.
- Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. Report and Proceedings, 1890-91, 1891-92.
- Belgique, Académie Royale. Annuaire, 1890-91; Bulletin, 1889-91; Catalogue de la Bibliothèque.
- Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. Proceedings, xii, 3, xiii, 1.
- Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society. Report, 1890-91.
- Bordeaux, Société des Sciences Phys. et Naturelles. Mémoires, v, 2; Observations Pluv. et Thermométriques de la Gironde.
- Boston (U.S.) Society of Natural History. Proceedings, xxv, 1, 2.
- Botanical Society, Edinburgh. Transactions and Proceedings, xviii and xix.
- Botany. See "Linnæan" and "Natural History" Societies, etc.
- Bristol Naturalists' Society. Proceedings, vi, 3, vii, 1.
- British Association for Advancement of Science. Report, Cardiff, 1891.
- Buffalo, N.Y., Society of Natural Sciences. Bulletin, v, 3.

C.

- Canadian Institute. Report, 1890-91, 1891-92; Transactions, nos. 2, 3, 4; "An Appeal to the Canadian Institute," by S. Fleming.

"Cardiff Handbook."

Chemical Society. Journal from June, 1891; Index; Proceedings, nos. 97 to 114; List of Members, etc.

Cherbourg, Société Nationale des Sciences Naturelles et Mathématiques, xxvii.

Chester Society of Natural Science and Literature. Report, 1890-91.

Copenhagen, K. Danske. Vidensk. Selskab; Oversigt over Forhandler.

Cornwall, Royal Institution. Journal, xi, 1.

Cornwall, Royal Geological Society. See under "G."

Cornwall, Royal Polytechnic Society. Report, 1890-91.

D.

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy. Proceedings, June, 1891, May, 1892; Transactions, xxix, 16 to 19; Cunningham Memoirs, no. 7.

E.

East India Association. Journal, xxiii, 2, 3, 4; xxiv, 1 to 7.

Edinburgh, Botanical Society. Transactions and Proceedings, xviii, xix.

Edinburgh, Meteorological Society, Scotland. Journal, 3rd series, no. 8.

Edinburgh, Royal Physical Society. Proceedings, Session 1890, 91.

Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Society of Arts. Transactions, xiii, 1.

Edinburgh, Royal Society. Proceedings, xvii.

Engineering Society, Liverpool. Transactions, xii, xiii; Report, 1891.

Engineer's (Chief U.S.) Report, 1891, 6 vols.

Engineers, Institute of Civil. Minutes, vols. civ to cix; Index to vols. lix-cvi; "Engineering Education in British Dominions."

Entomological Society, Lancashire and Cheshire. Report, Session 1891

Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.) Bulletin, xxi, 7 to 12, xxii, 1 to 9.

Ethnology. See "Geographical and Geological Survey (U.S. Govt.)" and "Washington Bureau of Ethnology;" also Vincent's Books, "Thro' and Thro' the Tropics," "Norsk, etc.," "In and out of Central Asia."

F.

Finnish Scientific Society, Helsingfors. Acta, xvii; Finland's Natur och Folk, nos. 49, 50; Förhandlingar, 1889-90.
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. Journal from May, 1891.

G.

Geneva, Société de Physique. Mémoires, xxxi, and Supplementary Centennial volume.
Geographical Society, Manchester. Journal, vi, 4, 5, 6; Rules, etc.; "Geographical Education."
Geographical Society, Royal, of Australasia, Queensland branch. Proceedings and Transactions, 1890-91.
Geographische Gesellschaft, Vienna, K. K. Mittheilungen, 1890-91.
Geographical Society, American. Bulletin, xxiii, 2, 3, 4, xxiv, 1, 2.
Geographical and Geological Survey (U.S. Government). Contributions to American Ethnology, ii and vi.
Geological Society. Quarterly Journal, nos. 187 to 191.
Geological Society, Royal, Cornwall. Transactions, xi, 5.
Geological Society, Glasgow. Transactions, ix, 1.
Geological Society, Liverpool. Proceedings, vi, 3.
Geological Association. Proceedings, November, 1891, May, 1892.
Geological Association, Liverpool. Journal, xi.
Geological Survey of India. Palaeont. Indica., XIII, iv, 2; Memoirs, xxiii, xxiv, 3, 4; Index; Records, xxiv, 1 to 4, xxv, 1, 2.
Geological and Polytechnic Society, Yorkshire. Proceedings, xi, 3, xii, 1.
Glasgow Geological Society. See "Geological."

Glasgow Philosophical Society. Proceedings, xii, 1890-91.

Glasgow University Calendar, 1891-92, 1892-93.

Göttingen, K. Gesellschaft der W. and Georg-Augusts Univ. Nachrichten, 1889-90-91.

"Greenwich Observations," 1889.

H.

Hamilton Association. Journal and Proceedings, 1890-91.

Harlem, Société Hollandaise des Sciences. Archives Néerlandaises, xxv, 1 to 4, xxvi, 1.

Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. Report, 1890-91.

Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology. Memoirs, xiv, 2, xvii, 2; Bulletin, xvi, 10, xxi, 1 to 5, xxii, 1 to 4, xxiii, 1, 2, 3; Report, 1890-91.

Harvard University Bulletin, nos. 49 to 52.

Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club. See under "Natural History."

I.

"In and Out of Central Asia," by F. Vincent. (From author.)

India Association, East. See under "E."

India, Geological Survey. See under "Geology."

India, Great Trigonometrical Survey of. Vol. xiv.

Irish Academy, Royal. See under "Dublin."

K.

Kiew, Société des Naturalistes. Mémoires, xi, 1, 2.

Königsberg. Physik-ökonom. Gesellschaft; Schriften, 1890, 1891.

L.

Leeds, Philosophical and Literary Society. Report, 1890-91.

Leicester, Literary and Philosophical Society. Transactions, ii, 10, 11.

Library Reports. See "Liverpool," "Maimonides," "Manchester," "New York."

Lick Observatory, "Total Eclipse of the Sun, December, 1889."

Linnean Society. Journal: Botany, no. 176, 193 to 196, 198 to 201; Zoology, 146, 149 to 152; List of Members, etc.; Proceedings, 1888 to 1890.

Liverpool Architectural Society. See under "A."

Liverpool Engineering Society. See under "E."

Liverpool Geological Society. See under "G."

Liverpool Geological Association. See under "G."

Liverpool Health Report.

Liverpool Free Library Report, 1890-91.

Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club. See under "N."

Liverpool Physical Society. See under "P."

M.

Magnetism, etc., Causes of Terrestrial. By H. Wilde, F.R.S.

Maimonides Library, New York. Report, 1891.

Manchester Geographical Society. See under "G."

Manchester Free Libraries Report, 1890-91.

Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Memoirs and Proceedings, iv, 4, 5, v, 1.

Massachusetts Health Report, 1890.

Medical and Chirurgical Society. Transactions, lxxiv.

Meriden, Connecticut, U.S., Scientific Association. Transactions, iv, 1890.

Meteorological Society, Royal. Quarterly Journal, nos. 81, 82, 83.

Meteorological Society, Scottish. See under "Edinburgh."

Microscopical Society, Royal. Journal, June, 1891, to August, 1892; Charter, etc.

Milan, Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere; Rendiconti, N S., 23; Memorie, xviii, 3, 4, 5.

N.

Natural History, American Museum of. Report, 1890-91; Bulletin, iii, 2.

Natural History Society and Field Club. See "Hertfordshire," "Somersetshire."

Natural History, Society of. See "Boston."

- Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club. See "Bath."
- Natural History Transactions of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, xi, 1.
- Naturalist, American. See under "A."
- Naturalistes, Société des, Kiew. See under "K."
- Naturalists' Field Club. See "Belfast," "Liverpool."
- Naturalists' Club. See "Berwickshire."
- Naturalists' Society. See "Bristol."
- "Nature," May, 1891, to September 1st, 1892.
- Natural Sciences, Society of. See "Buffalo."
- New York, Academy of Sciences. Annals, v, 1, 2, 3; Transactions, x, 2, 3.
- New York State Museum. Report, 1891; Bulletin, i, 1.
- New York State University. Regents' Bulletin, 1 to 7.
- New York State Library. Bulletin.
- New Zealand Institute. Transactions, xxiii, 1890.
- "Norsk, Lapp, and Finn." By F. Vincent. (From author.)
- Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. See "Natural History."
- Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science. Proceedings and Transactions, vii, 4.

O.

- Ordinance Report, United States Government, 1890-91.

P.

- Paris, École Polytechnique. Journal, 1890.
- Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Report, 23, 24; Papers, i, 1 to 4.
- Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. Proceedings.
- Philadelphia Zoological Society. Report, 1891.
- Philosophical Society, American. See under "A."
- Philosophical Society, Glasgow. See under "G."
- Physical Society, Royal Edinburgh. See under "E."
- Physical Society, Liverpool. Report, 1890-91.

- Plymouth Institution. Report and Transactions, xi, 1, 1890-91.
 Powisland Club. Archaeological and Historical Collection of
 Montgomeryshire.
 Presburg. Verein für Natur-und Heilkunde; Verhandlungen,
 N.S. 7.

R.

- Rochester, New York, Academy of Science. Proceedings, i, 2.
 Royal Institution of Great Britain. Proceedings, xiii, 2.
 Royal Institution of Cornwall. See under "C."
 Royal Society. Proceedings, nos. 229 to 313.
 Royal Society of Canada. Transactions and Proceedings, viii.
 Royal Society of Edinburgh. Proceedings, xvii.
 Royal Society of New South Wales. Journal and Proceedings,
 xxv.
 Royal Society of Victoria. Proceedings, N. S., iii.; Transactions,
 iii, 1.

S.

- Santiago (Chile). Deutscher Wissensch. Verein: Verhandlungen,
 ii, 3.
 St. Petersburg. Académie Impériale des Sciences. Bulletin,
 N. S., ii, 2, 3, 4.
 "Science Gossip" to September.
 Smithsonian Report, 1890. Contributions to Knowledge, 801.
 Miscellaneous Collections, 708, 741, 764.
 Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society. Pro-
 ceedings, xvi, xviii. (N. S.)
 Statistical Society (Royal). Journal, liv, 2, 3, 4.
 Strasburg University. Thirty-nine Doctoral Dissertations in
 Physical Science, Mathematics, History, &c.
 "Through and Through the Tropics." By F. Vincent. (From
 author.)
 "Time-Reckoning in the Twentieth Century." By S. Fleming.
 (From author.)

V.

"Victorian Year Book," 1890-91, 2 vols.

Vienna. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften: Math. u. natura.
Classe. Anzeiger. Phil. Hist. Classe; Sitzungsberichte, Bde.,
cxix to cxxiv.

Vienna. K. K. Geog. Gesells. (See under "G.")

W.

Washington. Bureau of Ethnology. Omaha and Ponka Letters,
by J. O. Dorsey. Catalogue of Prehistoric Monuments, by
C. Thomas. Bibliography of Algonquian Languages, by J.
C. Pilling.

Washington Naval Observatory. Report, 1891. Observations,
1885-86-87.

Y.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society (See under "Geo-
logy.")

SOCIETIES, ACADEMIES, AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS,

TO WHICH THIS VOLUME IS PRESENTED.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

<i>Aberdeen</i>	- - -	The Dun-Echt Observatory.
<i>Alnwick</i>	- - -	The Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Bath</i>	- - -	The Natural Historical and Antiquarian Field Club.
<i>Belfast</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Field Club. The Natural History and Philosophical Society.
<i>Birkenhead</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library. The Literary and Scientific Society.
<i>Birmingham</i>	- -	The Philosophical Society.
<i>Bootle</i>	- - -	The Free Public Library.
<i>Bristol</i>	- - -	The Naturalists' Society.
<i>Buckhurst Hill</i>	- -	The Epping Forest Naturalists' Field Club.
<i>Chester</i>	- - -	The Society of Natural Science.
<i>Cambridge</i>	- - -	The Cambridge Union.
<i>Dublin</i>	- - -	The Royal Irish Academy. The Royal Geological Society of Ireland. The Royal Society.
<i>Edinburgh</i>	- - -	The Botanical Society. The Geological Society. The Meteorological Society of Scotland. The Philosophical Institution. The Royal Observatory. The Royal Physical Society.

<i>Edinburgh</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Scottish Society of Arts. The Royal Society.
<i>Falmouth</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society.
<i>Glasgow</i>	-	-	-	The Philosophical Society. The Geological Society. The University.
<i>Greenwich</i>	-	-	-	The Royal Observatory.
<i>Halifax</i>	-	-	-	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Hull</i>	-	-	-	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>London</i>	-	-	-	The Anthropological Institute. The Society of Antiquaries. The Royal Institute of British Architects. The Society of Arts. The Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Astronomical Society. The British Association. The British Museum The Chemical Society. The Royal Geographical Society. The Geological Society. The Geologists' Association The Institution of Civil Engineers. The East Indian Association. The Linnæan Society. The Meteorological Society. The Society for Psychical Research. The Royal Microscopical Society. The Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society. The Royal Society. The Royal Institution. The Royal Society of Literature. The Statistical Society. The Zoological Society. The Editor of "Nature." The Editor of the "Journal of Science." The Editor of "Science Gossip."

<i>London</i>	- - - -	The Editor of the "Scientific Roll."
<i>Leeds</i>	- - - -	The Philosophical and Literary Society.
<i>Leeds</i>	- - - -	The Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.
<i>Leicester</i>	- - - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.
<i>Liverpool</i>	- - - -	The Architectural and Archæological Society.
		The Astronomical Society.
		The Chemists' Association.
		The Engineering Society.
		The Geological Society.
		The Geological Association.
		The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
		The Microscopical Society.
		The Naturalists' Field Club.
		The Philomathic Society.
		The Polytechnic Society.
		The Athenæum Library and News Room.
		The Free Public Library.
		The Liverpool Library.
		The Lyceum News Room.
		The Medical Institution.
		The Royal Institution.
		University College.
<i>Manchester</i>	- - - -	The Literary Club.
		The Literary and Philosophical Society.
		Chetham Library.
		The Free Public Library.
		Owens College.
<i>Newcastle-on-Tyne</i>	- - - -	The Natural History Society of Northumberland and Durham.
<i>Oxford</i>	- - - -	The Ashmolean Society.
		The Union Society.
<i>Penzance</i>	- - - -	The Royal Geological Society of Cornwall.
<i>Plymouth</i>	- - - -	The Plymouth Institution.
<i>Taunton</i>	- - - -	The Somersetshire Archæological Society.

<i>Truro</i>	- - - -	The Royal Institution of Cornwall.
<i>Watford</i>	- - - -	The Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club.
<i>Welshpool</i>	- - - -	The Powys-Land Club.
<i>Whitby</i>	- - - -	The Literary and Philosophical Society.

BRITISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.

<i>Bombay</i>	- - - -	The Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>Boston</i>	- - - -	The American Academy of Arts and Science. The Massachusetts Board of Education. The Massachusetts Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity. The Natural History Society. The Public Library.
<i>Buffalo</i>	- - - -	The Society of Natural Sciences.
<i>Calcutta</i>	- - - -	The Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Geological Survey of India.
<i>Cambridge (Mass)</i>	-	Harvard University. Museum of Comparative Zoology. The Peabody Museum of American Archaeo- logy and Ethnology.
<i>Chicago</i>	- - - -	The Public Library.
<i>Colombo</i>	- - - -	The Asiatic Society of Ceylon. The Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).
<i>Davenport</i>	- - - -	The Academy of Natural Sciences.
<i>Melbourne</i>	- - - -	The Royal Society of Victoria.
<i>New Haven</i>	- - - -	The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
<i>New York</i>	- - - -	The Academy of Sciences. The Astor Library. The American Geographical Society. The City University. The State University. The State Library. The American Museum of Natural History.

<i>Otago</i>	- - - -	The University.
<i>Ottawa</i>	- - - -	Geological and Natural History Survey. The Library of Parliament.
<i>Philadelphia</i>	- -	The Academy of Natural Sciences. The American Philosophical Society. The Franklin Institute. The Pennsylvania Board of Public Education. The Zoological Society.
<i>Salem</i>	- - - -	The American Association for the Advance- ment of Science. The Essex Institute.
<i>San Francisco</i>	- -	The Lick Observatory.
<i>Sydney</i>	- - - -	The Royal Society of New South Wales. The Department of Mines.
<i>Toronto</i>	- - - -	The Canadian Institute.
<i>Washington</i>	- - -	The Department of Agriculture. The Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories. The Naval Observatory. The Smithsonian Institution. The Department of Ordnance ; the Depart- ment of the Chief of Engineers ; the Department of Agriculture ; the Depart- ment of the Interior.
<i>Wellington</i>	- - -	The New Zealand Institute.

FOREIGN.

<i>Amsterdam</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale des Sciences.
<i>Antwerp</i>	- - -	Antwerp Literary Society.
<i>Berlin</i>	- - -	Die Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Bordeaux</i>	- - -	La Société des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles.
<i>Brussels</i>	- - -	L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

<i>Cherbourg</i>	-	-	-	La Société Nationale des Sciences Naturelles.
<i>Christiania</i>	-	-	-	The University.
<i>Copenhagen</i>	-	-	-	L'Académie Royale. La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord.
<i>Geneva</i>	-	-	-	La Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle.
<i>Gottingen</i>	-	-	-	Die Königliche Gesellschaft des Wissen- schaften.
<i>Grieswald</i>	-	-	-	The University.
<i>Harlem</i>	-	-	-	La Société Hollandaise des Sciences.
<i>Helsingfors</i>	-	-	-	La Société des Sciences de Finlande.
<i>Kief</i>	-	-	-	La Société des Naturalistes.
<i>Königsberg</i>	-	-	-	Die Königliche Physikalische-ökonomische Gesellschaft.
<i>Milan</i>	-	-	-	Il Reale Istituto Lombardo.
<i>Munich</i>	-	-	-	Die Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Paris</i>	-	-	-	L'Ecole Polytechnique.
<i>Presburg</i>	-	-	-	Der Verein für Natur- und Heil-Kunde.
<i>St. Petersburg</i>	-	-	-	L'Académie Imperiale des Sciences.
<i>Stockholm</i>	-	-	-	L'Académie Royale Suedoise des Sciences.
<i>Strasburg</i>	-	-	-	La Bibliothèque Municipale. Die Kaiserliche Universitäts und Landes- Bibliothek.
<i>Tokio</i>	-	-	-	The University.
<i>Toulouse</i>	-	-	-	L'Observatoire Astronomique. Die Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissen- schaften. Die Geographische Gesellschaft.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT, 1890-91.

For. *The LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, in Account with F. W. EDWARDS, Treasurer.* £s.

1890-91.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Cash paid Royal Institution, one year's Rent ..		20	0	0	Balance from 1889-90		2 0 5
" " Printing and Binding		69	11	0	By Cash from Subscriptions:—		
" " Stationery, &c.		22	17	0	122 Annual Subscriptions, at 2ls.	£128	2 0
" " Refreshments, &c.		17	19	6	7 Ladies' Subscriptions, at 10s. 6d.	3 13	6
" " Librarian's Expenses		2	0	0			131 15 6
" " Secretary's		3	10	4	Bank Interest		0 1 10
" " Treasurer's		3	14	6	Extra Printing		7 19 0
Balance		2	4	5			
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					£141 16 9		
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Audited and found correct,
(Signed) J. M. McMASTER,
ROBT. F. GREEN.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LIVERPOOL
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING—EIGHTY-FIRST SESSION.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 5th, 1891.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary read the following Report of the Council, which was approved and adopted :—

REPORT.

The Council have pleasure in presenting their Report of the Society's proceedings during the last Session, and congratulate the Society upon the successful completion of its Eightieth Session, and upon the continuance unimpaired of its vitality and usefulness.

The volume of *Proceedings* has this year been issued to the members at an earlier date than formerly, thus realising the hope expressed in the last annual Report.

The Council regret that the appeal made to the members for more miscellaneous communications has not met with a

better response. In order to assist to some extent this department, a Sub-Committee has been formed to bring forward from time to time the most notable articles in the Donations to the Society's Library. At the same time the Council note with satisfaction the increase of the number of speakers in the discussions. They would, however, recommend to their successors the consideration of some scheme for the announcement of the subjects of papers as much in advance as possible so as to insure more sustained and instructive discussion.

Thirteen ordinary meetings were held during the Session, with an average attendance of 60.

The Society now consists of 166 ordinary members; 31 honorary members; 27 corresponding members; and 11 associates; being an increase of 3 ordinary members on the numbers of last year.

The Hon. Treasurer read the Annual Statement of Accounts, which was adopted and passed.

The following were elected ordinary members: Dr. Hugh R. Jones and Mr. J. H. Fletcher.

The election of Officers for the ensuing Session was as follows: Vice-Presidents—Principal G. H. Rendall, M.A., Mr. J. Newton, M.R.C.S., and Mr. R. C. Johnson, F.R.A.S.; Honorary Treasurer—Mr. F. W. Edwards, M.S.A.; Honorary Secretary—Mr. H. Longuet Higgins; Honorary Librarian—Mr. R. McLintock; Council—Mrs. Sephton, Rev. F. Bonte, Messrs. H. Farrie, G. H. Morton, Robert Nicholson, S. A. Addinsell, R. J. Lloyd, M.A., D.Lit., J. M. McMaster, C. J. English, Josiah Marples, R. F. Green, W. W. Rutherford, J. W. Thompson, B.A., and Willoughby Gardner.

On the motion of the Rev. H. H. HIGGINS, seconded by Mr. F. W. EDWARDS, it was resolved, "That the cordial

thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. John Rutherford for his services as Honorary Secretary."

The Associates of the Society were re-elected.

The President then read his Second Inaugural Address, entitled "The Philosophy of the Labour Question, No. 2."*

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 19th, 1891.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. J. W. S. Callie was duly elected an ordinary member.

After the usual preliminary business, the meeting assumed the form of a *Conversazione*.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS exhibited and described an educational model of a clock.

A discussion ensued as to the best means of making such models useful for educational purposes in schools, &c.

Dr. NEVINS exhibited specimens of Swedish work in human hair.

Mr. MARPLES exhibited some specimens of Swedish needlework and wood-carving.

Mr. ERNEST MARPLES exhibited and explained some novelties in telephonic apparatus.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 2nd, 1891.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Munslow, Mr. Ramsey Gibbons, and Mr. John Fazakerley, were duly elected ordinary members.

* See page 1.

On the introduction of Mr. WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, Mr. W. R. Scowcroft, of Manchester, exhibited and made some remarks upon Cases of Botanical Specimens, illustrating a process by which both the form and colour of flowers can be preserved.

Dr. NEVINS exhibited some specimens of *Sabots* from Normandy and Brittany.

Mr. W. E. SHARP read a paper on "Heredity and Variation, some recent Speculations on their Origin."*

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 16th, 1891.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members:—Dr. John W. Ellis, M.B., F.E.S., Messrs. M. Staunton, Wm. Evans, and R. Alfred Hampson.

Mr. EDWARD DAVIES made the following communication:

"A COMPOUND OF NICKEL AND CARBON MONOXIDE."

Drs. Mond, Langer, and Quincke made this compound by reducing nickel oxide with hydrogen at a low temperature, and then passing carbon monoxide over the metal as soon as it is cooled to 30° c. It is a colourless gas, readily decomposed by heat into nickel and carbon monoxide. Mr. Davies made the gas, and showed its decomposition by heat. He also described a similar compound of iron and carbon monoxide.

Mr. BIRCHALL made a communication on "The Pamir Steppe and Russian Advances in Central Asia," illustrated by maps of the region.

Mr. J. W. S. CALLIE read a paper on "The Solution of the Labour Problem."†

* See page 59. † See page 147.

FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 30th, 1891.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The evening was devoted to the consideration of "Matthew Arnold as a Thinker and Teacher."

The Rev. R. A. ARMSTRONG, B.A., read a paper on "Certain Failures in Lucidity on Matthew Arnold's part." *

The HON. SECRETARY read a paper on "The Poetic Teaching of Matthew Arnold." †

FIFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, December 14th, 1891.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members :—Messrs. Edmund Moore Keyes, B.A., and Walter Bayard Hope.

Mr. E. R. RUSSELL read a paper entitled "An Estimate of Marlowe." †

SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 11th, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members, Messrs. J. P. Norris, F. S. Carey, M.A., and Jas. L. Thornely.

The subject of the evening was "Central Asia and the Pamir Plateau."

* See page 53.

† See page 35.

‡ See page 81.

Mr. BIRCHALL described the "Gradual Advancement of Russia towards the Frontier of India."

Dr. RICHMOND LEIGH contributed "Notes on the Physical Geography of the Pamir Plateau."

Mr. R. F. GREEN made a communication on "Recent Explorations in the Region of the Pamir, Hindu Khush, and Tibetan Plateau."

In the absence of Mr. T. J. Moore, his assistant, Mr. Paden, exhibited and read a note on a specimen of Marco Polo's Wild Sheep (*Ovis Polii*), obtained on the Pamir Plateau by Mr. St. George Littledale.

An enlarged copy (20 feet by 12 feet), prepared by Mr. Birchall, of the new Map of Central Asia in Philip's *Imperial Atlas*, was used for illustration of the papers.

SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 25th, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The following were duly elected ordinary members:—
The Rev. Canon Livingstone, M.A., Messrs. Wm. Snow, B.A., Wm. Turton and Wm. Gibson Turton.

Mr. J. M. McMASTER read a short paper on "Plans for regulating the Paper Currency,"* with special reference to Dr. Drysdale's proposals in his paper read before this Society on the 23rd February, 1880.

Mr. JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S., read the paper for the evening, which was entitled "Morals and Manners, 1740–1840: a Century of English Life,"† and was illustrated by numerous contemporary pictures by Hogarth, Gillray, Rowlandson, Isaac and George Cruickshank, Woodward, and other artists.

* See page 231.

† See page 263.

EIGHTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 8th, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. George Lamb was duly elected an ordinary member.

The Rev. J. SEPHTON, M.A., read a paper on "The Religion of the Eddas and Sagas.*"

NINTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 22nd, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. R. C. JOHNSON made some remarks on the recent very remarkable Aurora, and abundance of Sun-spots, and also read the following communication on

TEMPORARY STARS.

A new star was discovered on the 31st January, 1892, in the constellation Auriga, situated in R. A. 5h. 25m. 3s. N. Dec. 30° 21', by Mr. Thomas D. Anderson, of Edinburgh, and its discovery has revived the interest which is taken in these marvellous objects.

There has been no apparition during the last three hundred years of one of those magnificent Temporary Stars whose brilliancy outshone Venus or Jupiter, although from the nearly equal intervals of time which separated the appearances of A.D. 945, 1264 and 1572, it seemed likely that a reappearance of this star might have been expected during the last ten years; consequently many observations, both by eye and photography, have been made in the region of Cassiopeia, all of which have been fruitless of result.

It is only since the application of the spectroscope to their observation that a clue to the cause of the sudden

* See page 107.

increase and the gradual subsequent decrease of the brilliancy of temporary stars has been possible, and since the discovery of this mode of analysis only two or three new stars have appeared, of which none has been of higher magnitude than the 2nd.

A star known as T Coronæ appeared on 12th May, 1866, and, after rapidly attaining the 2nd magnitude, slowly decreased to the 14th, at which it still remains. Nova Cygni, discovered on 24th November, 1876, was of 3rd magnitude, and in ten months time died down to the 10th magnitude, becoming a planetary nebula, showing a single bright line in the green part of the spectrum.

The new star in Auriga is of the 4th magnitude, and exhibits generally the spectroscopic features which are characteristic of its class—that is, a spectrum principally composed of bright lines. Many photographic and ocular observations have already been made, and Dr. Huggins and Mr. Lockyer both agree that hydrogen and sodium are present, while Mr. Lockyer appears to have also seen decided evidence of the presence of calcium, magnesium, and some hydrocarbon.

The question of supreme interest in regard to these stars is—What is their condition during the rapid increase of brilliancy, and how is it caused?

The bright line, or discontinuous spectrum, is characteristic of incandescent gas, and if this were the only spectrum shown, it would be easy to infer that a mass of gas, principally hydrogen, had become ignited, and then blazed away; but the spectrum is not a simple one, and in the new star in Auriga, a peculiarity (now for first time observed by Mr. Lockyer), is that the bright lines K, H, h, and C, are accompanied by dark lines on their more refrangible sides. From this he immediately argues this object to be a valuable confirmation of his hypothesis that the pro-

duction of a new star is caused by the collision of two meteor streams, and that from these bright and dark contiguous lines we may assume that a dense swarm, moving rapidly towards the earth, has been disturbed by the impact of a sparser receding swarm.

The lines in the spectrum of Nova Aurigæ are very broad, which possibly is a mark of its nebulous character. There is no evidence of revolution.

The value of photography to astronomy has again been most prominently shown, for as soon as the discovery of the new star was announced, Professor Pickering, of Harvard Observatory, ascertained that the star had been photographed on three separate occasions in December last. It being then only of 10th magnitude.

The Astronomer Royal says, that in ordinary photographs (not spectroscopic) the star is somewhat hazy; this implies nebulous origin.

As since the appearance of Novo Cygni, in 1876, immense progress has been made, both in spectrum analysis and in the instruments and modes of observation, especially the displacement of the most fatiguing of eye observations entailed in the observation of faint spectra by the photographic method, we may expect further considerable progress to result from this new discovery.

The Rev. F. BONTE read a paper on "Prisons, Prisoners, and Imprisonment."*

TENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 7th, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Dr. NEVINS exhibited two specimens of Chinese silver

* See page 203.

coins, recently issued, being examples of the first silver coinage in China.

Mr. ROBERT F. GREEN read a paper on "The Basis and Claims of Magic." *

ELEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 21st, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. Alfred Hughes, M.A., was duly elected an ordinary member.

Mr. James Foster Palmer, M.R.C.S., F.R.Hist.S., of 8 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, was duly elected as a corresponding member.

Principal RENDALL, M.A., read a paper on "Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic." †

TWELFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 4th, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Percy Boulnois, M.Inst. C.E., was duly elected an ordinary member.

Mr. BIRCHALL read a paper on "The Church and the State in Mediæval Europe: IV. The Conflict of Authority and Jurisdiction between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in England." ‡

THIRTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 25th, 1892.

Mr. B. L. BENAS, PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Mr. Wm. Ranstead was duly elected an ordinary member.

* See page 313. † See page 171. ‡ See page 235.

Principal RENDALL, M.A., was elected President for the next two sessions.

Professor OLIVER J. LODGE, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., read a paper on "Thought Transference: an Application of Modern Thought to Ancient Superstitions."*

By the courtesy of our newly elected corresponding member, Mr. James Foster Palmer, M.R.C.S., F.R.Hist.S., the Council is enabled to add to this volume the paper on "Luigi Spola: a Chapter in the History of Italian Unity,"† which was read before the Society in the previous Session.

* See page 127. † See Appendix.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE LABOUR QUESTION.

PART II.

By B. L. BENAS.

IN my first paper on this subject I quoted from the writings of the American author, Henry George, showing that the same elements of discontent which affect the fabric of society in Europe are reproduced in the New World, and notwithstanding the advantages of boundless resources, free institutions, and a complete system of popular education, no permanent remedy has been proved to be successful.

Since that period it has occurred to me that it might be urged that I had after all only availed myself of the opinion of an extreme thinker, and that the pessimistic view contained in that epoch-making work, *Progress and Poverty*, is shared only by what is termed the subversive and unorthodox section of society in the United States. Let me, however, give you some of the utterances of Dr. A. H. Bradford, of New Jersey, a distinguished American divine, and a descendant of the William Bradford who, three hundred years ago, joined his lot with the then persecuted sect called Independents, and who eventually became the first Governor of Massachusetts. Dr. Bradford is representative of that school of thought in America whose orthodoxy is undoubted. This is what he observes :—

Increase of wealth develops selfishness. Insidiously a new feudal system is growing among the nations. Commercial and industrial barons are taking the place once occupied by those older, but no more

heartless, lords of the manor. Land is getting into the hands of the few. The Church even is distrusted. Those who have position and power look down upon the unsuccessful. The divine doctrine that one man is of more value than all things is forgotten. Denominations are confusing missions. National lines are going down. In the old days there were a hundred States where now there is one. Small tribes were absorbed by the larger, and the larger have learned that co-operation is better than destruction. In the Western world a Congress of American nations has already been held, and that was but a beginning. It is one step toward "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." Physical development points a thousand fingers in the same direction. Capitals which a few years ago were separated by continental spaces are now within speaking distances. The same books are read in Melbourne and in Boston. Russian literature is almost as common in New York as in St. Petersburg. The papers of the Old World circulate in the New. American and English preachers exchange pulpits. One day there are strikes in London among the dockers, and the next a promise of thousands of pounds in the way of practical sympathy from Australia thrills their hearts with the consciousness that the world is at their back. Nations touch elbows. Gladstone speaks in Westminster, and, according to the clock, before he has finished—almost before he has begun—his words are in type in San Francisco. Commercial interests are one already. Unrest in Lombard-street agitates Wall-street. Speculations in South America cause distress in Boston and Paris. Buoyancy in Australia and Russia produces prosperity in Canada and Sweden. A German physician discovers a probable remedy for a terrible disease; scientists flock to Berlin from all nations, and the good news flashes hope to the uttermost parts of the earth. Humanity claims the benefit. Consider a few illustrations of what may be called "world questions." During the last decade two publications of transcendent importance have appeared in London—*The Bitter Cry* and *In Darkest England*. What was said of one is true of both; they are "more interesting than fiction, more veracious than history, more vital than theology." The problem of poverty connects itself with problems of capital and labour, with the condition of working men everywhere. The questions of our time are social questions. They may be considered in relation to one nation alone; but is a man any more a man in London, or New Jersey, than in New Zealand? The solidarity of the race is a reality. A soul is as sacred in East London as in Belgravia, in Houston-street

as in Fifth-avenue, in Kamtschatka as in Massachusetts. The question is not, How can this parish or that ward be improved? but, How can the world's misery be diminished?

In America, politically as well as ethnologically, national lines seem to become gradually obliterated, for the French creole of Louisiana, the Spaniard of Texas and California, appear to have lost their separate racial aspirations in the one absorbing Union.

I have preferentially called in the evidence of American social economists as to the gravity of the problem which confronts the *fin de siecle*, because we were led to believe that the new political dispensation of the United States was a fuller and larger light than the old political dispensation of the islands from which they borrowed the foundation of their political ethics. Inasmuch, however, as the same economic maladies afflict them both, which they both seem powerless to eradicate from their system, we are almost tempted to remark that, that which is good in the social fabric of English-speaking America is not new, and that which is new has yet to be proved whether it is good, otherwise the utterances of the spiritual ruler of two hundred millions of the human race would be sufficient evidence. The head of the Church of Rome speaks thus :—

I. THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

At this moment the condition of the working population is the question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably decided.

If we turn to things exterior and corporeal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for making money.

II. URGENCY DEMANDED.

All agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and

wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor.

Every one must put his hand to the work which falls to his share and that at once and immediately, lest the evil which is already so great may by delay become absolutely beyond remedy.

III. THE MASSES LITTLE BETTER THAN SLAVES.

It has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. That evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form, but with the same, guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

How much more powerful for good would be the remedies suggested by the venerable and respected successor of St. Peter, if those dominions that for centuries have been under his spiritual influence, and have ejected their dissentient minorities, had proved to be model commonwealths worthy of imitation. Again, the latest return of the labour correspondent of the Board of Trade reports thus:—

The labour market continues to be in a disturbed condition, and disputes are still numerous, although the state of the unemployed list now furnishes evidence that the greatest caution should be exercised in the discussion of all questions out of which stoppages of work are likely to arise. During the month of July seventy-one strikes were recorded, and this number is very slightly below the average of the last few months. Of these stoppages, eleven have been in the cotton trade, and ten in the steel and iron trades. The building trades and dock labour have each contributed seven to the total, and three each are to be charged to coal mining and the woollen trade. The boot and shoe trade has furnished twelve disputes, and the engineering trade but two, the remainder having taken place in the less important industries. Twenty-one societies representing skilled occupations have sent in returns, and these show that in almost every branch of

industry the state of employment is not so healthy as it was at the beginning of the summer.

Mr. Morley, the member for Newcastle, delivered a speech on August 3rd last. He observes :—

It is not fifteen years ago since my late friend, Mr. Fawcett, described the English cottager, and the picture, I think, is true, just as true to-day as it was then. "Theirs," he said, "is a life of incessant toil, for wages too scanty to give them a sufficient supply of even the first necessities of life. No hope cheers their monotonous career. A life of constant labour, which brings them no other prospect than that when their strength is exhausted they must crave as suppliant mendicants a pittance from parish relief."

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, again, wrote in *The Times* newspaper :—

The capitalist system is bringing about its own destruction while we discuss, as the old chattel-slave system and serf system broke themselves down before in the course of the economical evolution of mankind. The communization or collectivity which we aim at is not deduced, therefore, from any Utopian theory as to what is desirable in itself, but is arrived at by a scientific induction from history and the co-ordination of the facts which we see around us.

In order to effect this great social revolution or transformation, Social Democrats would regard the use of force as quite legitimate, such force being used daily against the working class, if in no other way, under legal forms enacted for that express purpose by their landlord and capitalist enemies. Whether it will be necessary or advisable to use force depends, of course, upon circumstances. As sensible men, no matter how strong we might be or how well-armed and disciplined, we would much rather win peaceably than forcibly.

We have been for a long time accustomed, as the author of *Coningsby* wrote, that whenever we are brought face to face with unpleasant social symptoms we are apt to observe, Oh! yes, but these methods are un-English, quite forgetting that that is the argument which others have used as well as ourselves. When the surging discontented masses in

France urged their spokesmen, step by step, into a career of social experiments, they observed at the inception of their movement, when warned by prudent counsels that they might proceed too far, "Do you think our methods are those of the puritan English who chopped off the head of their monarch?" The prudent again exclaimed:—"You may even come to that;" and the same masses that caused a medal to be struck calling Louis XVI the regenerator of his people and the delight of his species, in the end imitated those puritan English, except that they used the scientific guillotine to decapitate their chief instead of the ordinary English axe, but the results were the same.

The last resort of those who have no better reply is generally "Circumstances are different in our case, and what has happened in a former historical epoch does not apply to us." This evasion has been used in every stage of human society, by the Jews, by the Greeks, by the Romans, and by Spain in her period of pre-eminence. What may or may not happen in the future is a matter of speculative opinion, but in social economical, as well as in scientific matters it does not seem safe to dogmatise too emphatically even on the part of those human beings who may claim the right to speak by pre-eminent experience.

It is just fifty-six years since Dr. Lardner delivered a lecture at Liverpool, in which he said: "As to the project announced in the newspapers, of making the voyage from Liverpool to New York in ships propelled by steam, I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be perfectly chimerical."

Dr. Bradford, the American, though a sincere and orthodox religionist, seems to strike the same note as the German Karl Marx and Lassalle and the French Proudhon, as to the disappearance of national lines. Even these writers maintain that there may be a large remnant of aggressive national feeling left for some generations by the patrician

and middle classes, but, with the cessation of "dynastic warfare," the attention of mankind will gradually be diverted from international questions to the more absorbing problem—How to ameliorate the social condition of the toilers.

In some recently published letters of the late Field-Marshal Moltke he says :—

The days are gone by when, for dynastic purposes, small armies of professional soldiers went to war to conquer a city, or a province, and then sought winter quarters or made peace. The wars of the present day call whole nations to arms, there is scarcely a family that does not suffer by them. The entire financial resources of the State are appropriated to the purpose, and the different seasons of the year have no bearing on the indefatigable progress of hostilities. As long as the nations continue independent of each other there will be disagreements that can only be settled by force of arms, but, in the interest of humanity, it is to be hoped that wars will become less frequent, as they have become more terrible.

Generally speaking, it is no longer the ambition of monarchs which endangers peace; the passions of the people, its dissatisfaction with interior conditions and things, the strife of parties, and the intrigues of their leaders are the causes.

The German organs of the wage-earning classes have stated over and over again, that it would not only be difficult but well nigh impossible to force the German operative to fight the French working men. They fought and would fight again to prevent a French Cæsar from interfering with their aims and aspirations, but not against a republic working out its own destinies. With the exception of Russia, which is hardly within the sphere of modern civilization, Great Britain is perhaps the only European country that employs recruited fighting men, whose profession is to go anywhere and do anything.

The difficulty ever confronts us when we wish to attempt social therapeutics. Everyone seems to have his own pill to

cure the economic malady. Nor dare we ignore the warnings of a cloud though at present it be no bigger in Great Britain than a hand. An incident is narrated of a poor starving creature knocking from door to door in a village for relief, but the callous villagers, as well as the residents of the mansions, closed their ears and their hands. The woman crawled into a barn to die of Typhus brought on by hunger, but in her death she punished the stony-hearted, for the malady spread and decimated the inmates of the houses of the rich and poor alike.

When the leaders of the Social Democratic school abroad are asked what they really require, their reply is that of Karl Marx and Lassalle—a negative one. They say we do not want the patrician and middle-classes to legislate for us. We must convert our minority into a majority, and, when we have the power, will show you what we want. We may wait some time before this will arrive, but with the spread of education we can afford to wait.

The time has passed, say the organs of this movement, when they will be satisfied with boons conferred upon them by the noblesse and the bourgeoisie, that is to say, the upper and the middle-classes.

Their contention is that individuals rule and not property, that it is the numerical majority in the modern dispensation of government which not only govern but also wield the executive. They admit it was not possible whilst education was beyond the reach of the operatives, but the same circumstances, Lassalle points out, influenced the middle-classes prejudiciously for centuries. They were ruled by the aristocratic minority, simply because they were for long centuries unfitted by education to lead, and, further, that the middle-classes were hopelessly divided among themselves, and had no confidence in each other, hence the patrician held all the posts of honour. To-day, the operative in

Germany has hardly acquired an absolute confidence in his brother working man, hence the nobles and middle-classes still govern. His teachers tell him, that the day he adopts the same methods as the middle-classes did in the early part of the century, that is to say, perfects his education (which has now in Germany almost advanced to a common denominator among all classes), and above all learns to trust his fellow as the bourgeoisie now do, the working classes will, in the end, legislate for themselves in Teutonic lands, inasmuch as the capitalist and the nobility are in numerical minority, and modern methods of government, say they, can lead to no other result. They prefer to attain their ends by the slower process of organization rather than by revolution and violence, which they only hold in reserve as a last resource.

The way in which the small but growing English section look upon this problem is interesting, and is expressed thus in one of the Democratic organs :—

In the present Parliament, how many labour candidates are there out of the six hundred and odd assorted intellects of the realm? Are there six? I ask for information. If there were twenty-six do you suppose they could properly defend the labour interests against the two great parties? In the House are representatives of the spinning interests, but no representative of the spinners. The colliery interest is represented, but are the colliers? The railway interests are represented, but who is the member for the over-worked signalman and the underpaid porter? The Army is represented—but I notice that the private soldier still gets too little to eat. The army, the navy, the church, the bar, the land, the property, the banks, the railways, the mines, the breweries—all these institutions are represented by powerful parties of men prepared to defend their interests to the last cartridge; but where is the army of labour? The labourers have no champions, no banner, no shield, and no spear; and why? Because since the first day that the simple honest fools were “admitted to the franchise” they have always put their trust in “Expositions of Principle” by the regular candidates.

I was very much struck during the dock labourers' strike in Liverpool with the demonstration which marched through the streets of Liverpool, and having been in the inner circle of those entrusted with the maintenance of order in the city, my mind carried me back to what occurred in that great Liverpool of ancient times, Alexandria, the famous seat of wealth and culture, when the magistrates were powerless to prevent the wealthiest portion of the city from being plundered and ruined, and the city lost its pre-eminence for centuries. Have we moved no further during the many centuries that have rolled on, that in the end the magistrates must rely upon the man with the stick, and when he fails must call in the man with the sword? Must these in the end always remain the last resources of civilisation? And what if physical force is met by physical force in every direction? Experience happily teaches us that invariably only hungry men are discontented and resort to violence; but that which was a luxury to a former generation has become a necessity for those who live in modern days, and it seems that with the spread of intelligence among the masses their aspirations and requirements are correspondingly raised.

In a very clever work, entitled, *Essays in Politics*, by Mr. C. B. Roylance Kent, a barrister-at-law in this city, he shows that with the increase of wage-earning power the demand of the wage-earner becomes more and more peremptory. He says:—

During the last fifty years there has been a contemporaneous increase of wages and decrease of the prices of commodities. In the case of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, miners, weavers, and spinners, Mr. Giffen estimates the rise since 1826 at over 50 per cent. in most cases, and at over 100 per cent. in some. In the case of seamen's wages he estimates the rise since 1850 at 60 per cent. Taking particular trades we find, on the authority of Professor Leone Levi, that hands in cotton factories, who in 1839 received 7s. and 16s. a week respectively, in 1877 received 17s. 6d. and 36s.; that hands in

woollen factories, who in 1837 received 12s. and 21s. a week respectively, in 1877 received 35s. and 28s.; that whilst in the linen trade in 1855 some hands only received 10d. and 4s. a week respectively, the same class in 1877 received 8s. and 33s.; that in the earthenware trade, between 1857 and 1877, there was a rise from 3s. 6d. a week to 33s. a week; that whilst in the building trade wages were 5s. a day of 10 hours, in 1877 they were 9d. an hour; and that seamen's wages have risen from 40s. and 55s. a month in 1848, to 70s. and 80s. in 1878.

These increases have been contemporaneous with a diminution in the prices of necessities, wheat averaging only 48s. 9d. a quarter between 1876 and 1886, as against 58s. 7d. a quarter between 1837 and 1846; while in most other things there has been a considerable fall, meat and house rent having increased. These improvements are summed up in the statement that, as regards the amount of wages and their purchasing power, the condition of the working classes is now immensely superior to what it was at any time for nearly three hundred years.

Why, then, with an increase of wages, is there a general consensus of opinion that the area of discontent is ever widening? It can only be explained by this fact, that just as the middle-classes have step by step reached a point of social opulence, so that there is now only a theoretical but not a material line of demarcation between them and the patrician classes, so the operative has had his aspirations educated until his increased earnings still only leave his higher cravings unappeased. He earns more, and if he only remained with the yearnings and aspirations of the wage-earning class of a century ago, would have sufficient, but can we expect one stratum of society to remain stationary whilst the others are rapidly pressing forward?

Some time ago, in most of the German States, the ideal standard of social importance was to wear an embroidered coat, gilt buttons, and a long *porte-épée* in the service of the King or Fürst. Many an imposing official, with a salary hardly better than that of an English railway porter, went

home to his fourth floor apartment and dined off black bread, cabbage, and a sausage, and thought this quite satisfactory fare. His wife and daughters would manage the household, and were content to emerge in stuff gowns and cotton gloves. Was it not quite sufficient compensation to be in the recognised set of officialdom, and wear the uniform of his sovereign? And even a step higher, many of the nobles and mediatised princes were quite content with a so-called schloss or palace, very much less imposing than many a merchant's residence in Sefton Park. If the governing classes were thus contented, as a matter of course, the artisan thought he was well within his sphere if he earned just enough to keep body and soul together; but two influences were at work to undermine this ideal.

Firstly, the emigration of large numbers of Germans to America brought back some who had become millionaires, others who had acquired large fortunes. These returned German-Americans began to build luxurious houses, to have the choicest wines, to indulge at table in *menus* of every luxury that was procurable, to have the best seats at the opera, to drive in splendid equipages, to subsidise the best instructors for their sons and daughters, and, if they attained no social standing, they revelled in an exuberant material prosperity. For some time the princely and official classes retired to their schloss or to their fourth-floor garret, and quietly ignored the new rich. They would neither receive them, nor would they take food with them; and they would for some time rather give their daughters in marriage to the poorest "adelige," rather than to the man who acquired his wealth and luxury by buying and selling. The Franco-Prussian War, however, brought on a gradual social evolution. All classes of Germans were levelled up by their contact with the higher material prosperity of France, like their ancestors of old, who, coming beyond the Alps in touch

with Latinism, began to enjoy some of the milk and honey which the Latin provinces have in a larger profusion than the Teutonic countries. The modern German came back to his home longing for some of the flesh-pots of the country which he ceased to fear, but began to admire.

The homes of the German-American millionaire offered the nobles and official classes some of the good things, the taste for which they had begun to appreciate in the French homes and restaurants, and whilst the German-American was proud to have the honour of the visit of the class that spurned him in his poverty, the governing classes began by accepting invitations on the part of the masculine portion of their circle to receptions and dinner parties, where they could enjoy some of the luxury which they had begun to find out was a little more tangible in its pleasures than the somewhat dignified but slightly monotonous delight of the vision of the embroidered coat and the *porte-épée*. Thus the thin end of the wedge was introduced for a gradual social amalgamation between the middle classes and the governing and patrician classes, that had remained isolated for many centuries. At the reunions of these new rich, the buying and selling classes came in contact with those who formerly were as socially separated as any caste in India. What was the result? The patricians began to like money-making for the sake of the luxuries it could purchase; whilst the middle classes began to adopt an air of culture and refinement, and an assumption of a much higher social importance, and thus they placed a wider gulf than ever between themselves and the wage-earning and small trading classes.

The German operative, however, began to dislike the man with the money, much more than he did the man with the blue blood. He could understand the principle that a noble can have no social contact with a plebeian; though the plebeian workman might be an *arbiturient* from a German

Gymnasium, equal to our University graduates ; but for a man that buys and sells to avoid him as a social inferior, unless he were to go to America and brings back a million, is what the German educated operative could not brook. So that the tendency among the Teutonic wage-earning classes is rather to bend, if they must, to the poor proud descendant of the feudal times, rather than to the enriched middle-class, now so important a factor of German society. Hence, the young Emperor is now able to influence the men he has gathered around him and the operatives more readily, and the views of the new school are more sympathetic with the wage-earners than were those of the old leaders of the respectable middle-classes, who, though at one time considered the champions of the working-classes, have now outgrown their former popularity in Germany.

The same thing is also apparent in Belgium, where an interesting problem is being solved. Now, Belgium is perhaps the one country, small though it be, that ethnologically most resembles England. The country consists of two races—the Teutonic and the Celtic—sometimes amalgamated and sometimes isolated. Just as it is unlikely that the early Saxon warriors and invaders of Britain brought many or any women at all with them, but probably sought their wives from among the native British, and thus formed a new race, which we are apt to call the Anglo-Saxon race, but which is rather an amalgamation of the Celt and Teuton, the fine old Flemings of Belgium are largely intermingled with the Celtic Walloon, and thus resemble in a great degree the present English-speaking people.

Belgium, again, is the only country in Europe that has never engaged in war since its creation into a separate kingdom in 1830, an unbroken era of peace for about sixty years. During this period the wage-earning classes have had but a small voice in the selection of their legislators.

The latter were divided into two sections, the so-called clericals, and the progressists.

Yet now, after a long series of agitations on the part of the wage-earners for a larger voice in the amelioration of their condition, it is to those whom they hitherto considered their opponents, the clericals, that the majority of the wage-earners look for relief; whilst the large employers of labour of Liege and Verviers, who have hitherto appeared as the champions of the working men, find themselves at the present moment their least trusted representatives. It is quite probable that ere long we shall see a practical problem worked out in the Low Countries now that the principle of admitting the wage-earner to a share of government is conceded; and as the clerical leaders in Belgium have shown a decided leaning to the wage-earner rather than to his employer, we shall perhaps see, for the first time in Europe, the result of union between the patricians, the agricultural interest, and the operative, as against the employers of labour. The minority group will eventually consist of employers of labour, the shop-keeping interest, with perhaps the representatives of finance. There is no railway interest in Belgium, the railways, with a few trifling exceptions, being all owned by the State.

I now make no apology for having attempted the subject of the philosophy of the labour question. When I first thought out this problem it was hardly the question of the hour, and I had misgivings lest the matter should not rise to the level of those themes that ought to inspire a president of your Society for his first inaugural address. Since that period, however, an Emperor has not thought it unworthy of a conclave of earnest thinkers; the head of an ancient Church the weight of an Encyclical; an earnest worker in the humblest spheres the theme of a volume, *In Darkest England*; and lastly, the Imperial Parliament of Great

Britain the task of a Royal Commission. How thoroughly this question is to be probed is best illustrated by an abstract of the sphere the Commission is about to survey:—

1. That for the purpose of taking evidence and collecting information the Royal Commission be divided into three committees.

2. That each of these committees should institute an inquiry into the facts concerning the condition of certain groups of trades, leaving questions of principle to be treated by the Commission as a whole.

3. That for this purpose the following division of trades should be adopted, the division being provisional and non-exhaustive:—Group A, mining, iron, engineering, hardware, shipbuilding, and cognate trades. Group B, transport and agriculture, the term transport including shipping, canals, docks, railways, and tramways. Group C, textile clothing, chemical, building, and miscellaneous trades.

4. That each of the committees report the evidence taken by them, and, if they think fit, furnish a summary of that evidence.

5. That the following syllabus be submitted as a convenient summary of the subjects to be inquired into by the committees:—Trade differences between employers and employed—1, their causes; 2, their development, organization, and conduct; 3, their cost; 4, their prevention or settlement.

(1) THEIR CAUSES.

(a) Wages.—First, how fixed; second, how calculated—by piece work, by day work, or by task work; third, how paid—direct by employer or by sub-contractor, weekly, fortnightly, or at other periods, increased by bonus or reduced by stoppages, truck or payment in kind, or house, land, or other allowances; fourth, fluctuations of wages, how brought about and how adjusted; fifth, differences of wages in different establishments and localities; sixth, existence and effect of pension, deferred pay, sick insurance, and accident insurance; seventh, notice required for the termination of wage contracts.

(b) Hours of Labour and Continuity of Employment.—First, normal hours of work; second, overtime, and how remunerated; third, night shifts, and how remunerated; fourth, short time, season work, or other irregularities of employment; fifth, Sunday and holiday labour, how arranged and paid for; sixth, duration of day's work and week's work, and how regulated.

(c) Sub-division, distribution, and classification of work, as between different trades, individuals, men, women, or children (whether half-timers or not), factories, workshops, or home.

(d) Apprenticeships.

(e) Introduction of machinery.

(f) Supply and quality of the machinery, and materials of production or transport.

(g) Safety of employment, provisioning of ships, lighting of ships, lighting, sanitation, and inspection of work places.

(h) Discharge for belonging to a trade union.

(i) Refusal to work with non-unionists.

(j) Discharge of representative delegates, and use of black list.

(k) Employment of foreigners.

(l) Obnoxious officials, sympathetic strikes.

(m) Other causes of dispute.

(2) THEIR DEVELOPMENT, ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT.

(a) Trade associations or combinations of employers or employed, whether permanent in character or temporary, occasional or for special dispute purposes; their trade rules, benefits, and policy.

(b) Strikes and lockouts, picketing, black-listing, and other methods of influencing persons concerned, or not directly concerned, in the dispute.

(c) Importation of new or foreign labour; whether under contract or otherwise.

(3) THEIR COST.

(a) Economic result of strikes and lockouts to workers, to employers, and to the community at large.

(4) THEIR PREVENTION OR SETTLEMENT.

(a) Conciliation by joint committees or otherwise; (b) mediation; (c) arbitration, voluntary or compulsory; (d) sliding scales; (e) profit sharing; (f) industrial partnerships; (g) co-operation.

It was agreed that three sets of questions should be prepared, one set to be sent to different associations of employers; the second set to unions of employed, and the third to other representative bodies or persons.

On the occasion of my inaugural address last session, I half hinted that, having to some extent reviewed the *theory*

of the labour question, I would endeavour to follow, in a subsequent paper, in the paths of those who find a *practical* way out of the economic labyrinth. I call to mind here the life of the poet and thinker, Heinrich Heine. This transcendent genius, who was born with the century, has too often been associated only with the muses, of which he was a favoured child. It is, perhaps, overlooked that he was the Paris correspondent for one of the leading South German organs for many years, and thought out in his articles many interesting social problems. He foreshadowed, with an almost prophetic instinct, many of the incidents which trouble and derange the even flow of modern society. Perhaps the most remarkable of his political anticipations were—written some twenty years before the event, bear in mind—that some day Paris would be for a period in the hands of those who advocate the commune as the unit of government, and that one of their acts would probably be to tear down the Vendome column as a visible protest against Cæsarism. He writes on another occasion: “Whenever the great upheaval which will alter the face of Europe will happen, it will take place in Germany, the Germans are a serious and sober-minded people, and whenever a social cataclysm is initiated by them, the events of 1792 in France will be child’s play as compared to the thoroughness with which the Teutonic masses will reorganise the bases of society. What the German Luther did for religion (for he did as much to reinvigorate the old organization which he left, perhaps more than the newer systems of which he was the inception), a modern political Luther will do for the social economy of the world.” Heine dived deeply into every constructive and destructive problem that might show him a method of brushing away the dust that seemed to impede the path of human kind towards the goal of contentment and happiness—and he reached his conclusions step by step.

Greece at first lulled him by her sweet song into an Elysium, only to awaken to a feeling of reaction that the life of which Mount Olympus was a type, was a dreamland in which there was no place for the prosaic toilers of his generation.

Then, again, the Rome of the ancient Romans seemed to him the legislative consummation of good for the smallest number. Imperial Rome gave her masses pleasure until they thought it happiness, only to awaken to find that the pleasure had departed, and that the virility of the masses was filched from them, and that the despised barbarian, the man of force and muscle, who was at the foot of the social ladder, perhaps hardly within reach of the ladder at all, quietly taught himself the Roman methods of organization, and step by step became the master of his master.

Heine indicates that history always teaches the lesson that those who *have*, try to bribe those who *have not*, by parting with a portion of their possessions, vainly hoping that they will be allowed to enjoy the remainder undisturbed. Like the gambler who sees his neighbour lose, yet still goes on, hoping to succeed by avoiding what he imagines the mistakes of the other, only to find that, an unforeseen event occurring to him which upsets his best calculation, he gets no further than his rival.

Nor could Rome bribe the strong man by giving him a limited partnership, and step by step increasing the area of association. In the end the strong man always learns his strength, and seems determined to become master, even at the cost of the downfall of the entire fabric.

Heine had no sympathy with the school of Adam Smith and his followers, for he observed: "Political economy teaches how best to secure wealth, as if wealth could secure the happiness of humanity." And he asks, very much as Ruskin does later on: "Admitted that there is more wealth

in the world, are the majority of those who dig, and delve, and toil, more contented with their lot than they were centuries ago? And what is the difference between the feudal baron, who used up flesh and blood to enrich himself, and the modern employer of labour, who gets flesh and blood into his factory, and tries to make as much profit as he can out of their bone and sinew? The feudal baron at least gave his toilers plenty of fresh air."

In the end, broken down and wearied in the attempt to solve the insoluble, Heine admits that he again took up the Old Book, once deemed by him a story book for the infancy of mankind, but, utterly unsuited, he imagined, for society in its adolescent state, and thus he writes :

"I, whom the world has dubbed the poet, the thinker, the philosopher, Heine, who endeavoured to ascend to Mount Olympus, find that I have reached no further stage in my enquiry than the poor negro, Uncle Tom (in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's story). I have ended where Uncle Tom began." The sentiment that seemed to speak patience and hope to the poor wretched slave, spoke similarly to the sweet singer and the social philosopher of his time. The man who sipped at every fount of human information, came to no other conclusion than the black thrall, whose entire sphere of knowledge was the literature of a race of emancipated bondsmen.

During the period which has elapsed since I read before you my inaugural address, I have thought deeply upon the nature of its sequel, and I have to-day to make the same confession to you as did the poet and thinker Heine—I am still no further than poor Uncle Tom.

Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, Lassalle, Proudhon, and even the aspiring authors of the *Fabian Essays* are all kindling lights of more or less effulgence, yet the rough uncultured emissaries of the author of *In Darkest England* seem to invite more followers

to their feeble ray, and the masses seem to incline in their direction rather than to that indicated by the monarchs of intellect.

It is perhaps humiliating to find that sentiment is still more powerful than scientific induction, but it is not the first time in history that a movement born among the lowliest has mounted step by step until it has drawn thrones into its fold, perhaps in its turn to breathe the enervating air of universal recognition, and then to forget in its giddy eminence that its inception was due to the protest of a neglected minority, until in its turn its base again is threatened by the breakers of renewed discontent.

I was walking some time ago on the Yorkshire moors at Ilkley, and an emissary of the Socialist movement was addressing a concourse of operatives (mostly from Leeds and Bradford) whom he roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm by a recital of their grievances. So far he was with his audience and his audience were with him, but when he advanced a step farther, and attempted to unfold his nostrum for the solution of their acknowledged but unappeased yearnings, they, one by one, left for an adjoining group addressed by an envoy of the author of *In Darkest England*, a man who was hardly within the sphere of elementary education at all, whose ideas were perfectly innocent of logical sequence, but were simply spun-out platitudes of sentiment, and it occurred to me that what I had seen in the East happens also in the West, "the dervish is more powerful than the philosopher."

The dervish in the East, like the envoy of Booth in the West, speaks to the multitude the doctrine of patience and hope, and the masses listen.

And why should some who profess culture sneer at the occupation of the Eastern or Western dervish? Can everybody at one step appreciate the beautiful symphonies of

a Beethoven, or the refined melody of Mendelssohn's Songs without Words. Are not the peasant and the mountaineer oftentimes inspired to deeds of enthusiasm and valour by the tones of the reed and bagpipe ; and in many a slum the foreigner who turns his machine, producing, mechanically, melodies of the simplest character, is, perhaps, a more welcome guest than a quartette party might be who would render to the same audience the numbers of a Chopin or a Grieg.

How often does a woodcut and a roughly coloured print appeal to the untrained and inartistic eye when a Raphael, a Correggio, a Guido Reni, or a Claude Lorraine would make no impression ? Is it wise to sneer at the simple melody or the rude engraving which teaches the alphabet of art as surely as the spelling book must lead to the University ?

I do not venture to think that the men with the coloured shirts and peaked caps, any more than the dervish in the East, have discovered an only road to the sympathies of those who suffer, but if there is a craving among human beings for stimulating elements, it occurs to me that the stimulant which endeavours to produce patience and hope is preferable to that which leads to ruin and despair.

Unfortunately ethical teachers have everywhere weakened their powers for good, because, as a rule, they cannot rise above the level of the smallest shopkeeper, whose predisposition is to cry out " Buy my wares, they are better than those of my neighbour," possibly forgetting that they may all have been produced from the same loom, though the outside label may have been varied.

The dervish exclaims, " I am the only funnel through which all good things must flow," and many other ethical teachers in the West do the same.

In face of their common enemy, who will have none of their traditions, but proclaims them all equally mere specu-

lative sentimentalists, these members of one force, these players in the same orchestra, often quarrel among themselves. Their common opponent is attempting day by day to make the resources of civilisation serve his own propaganda. He tells the working man, You have no land, no accumulations, no worldly property, you have nothing but your physical strength; destroy the magistrate, the policeman, and the teachers of ethics which lead to nothing, and chaos will ensue. This, say they, will only impoverish the capitalist, but will deprive you of nothing tangible, for in the wreck of society you will retain your physical strength, plus the flotsam and jetsam which the wreck of society will throw up, which will suffice at least for one generation, and let the next that follows make what they will out of chaos.

Yet in the face of these doctrines which, happily, here in Great Britain are only low rumblings, but abroad are active forces to be dealt with, the advocates of patience and hope are only just learning the lesson of peace and tolerance among themselves.

Can an effective army consist of heavy artillery only? Can it ignore the aid of infantry, cavalry, or the sharp-shooter? Nay, may not the free-lance even find a place in the defending force?

I ask does harmony consist of a series of players all occupied with the same instrument? Is it the flute alone, the violin alone, the trombone, or the drum alone that can produce perfect harmony? Is it not the union of instruments of every capacity, rather than the uniformity, that produces the grand orchestral effect which we term true harmony?

Spinoza ventured to predict many social and political incidents which give him the right to speak with the weight of one that laboured hard to preserve the best elements of hereditary ethical culture. More than two centuries ago,

he indicated that if the teachers of patience and hope cannot tolerate each other and make peace among themselves, they will be powerless to preserve the fabric which a rising tide of discontented wage-earners will some day attempt utterly to destroy.

Monsieur Fould, the eminent finance minister of France, perhaps did more to preserve a portion of the material wealth of his country from ruin during the troublous days of internal strife than did the bayonets of Monsieur Thiers' soldiers. When, under Napoleon the Third, the government borrowed money, Monsieur Fould gave every facility for operatives and wage-earners to invest their small savings in French *rentes*, in fact, gave them the preference over groups and syndicates of large capitalists, so that the thrifty mothers, sisters, and wives of France were always Monsieur Fould's most trustworthy clients.

When a portion of Paris was in flames, and the leaders of the Commune wanted to destroy the *Grand livre des dettes Publique*, and at one blow efface the vast proprietary of dividend receivers, like the matrons of Rome who cried to Coriolanus to save the city of his birth, so the mothers and sisters of the wild citizen soldiers appealed to the revolutionists to spare their savings, and the tears of the women saved the record of the public debt of France. Owing to the prescience of Monsieur Fould, who allied sentiment with capital, he has rendered French *rentes* perhaps one of the forms of wealth least liable to be effaced.

The German school of Karl Marx and Lassalle seem ever harping upon the one grievance, that capital is and remains always the master, whilst labour always remains the slave. That may be correct so far as the *terms* wealth and force are concerned; but it is incorrect so far as it refers to the individual possessors of wealth and the wielders of force. Can they not learn the lesson that by thrift the

wage-earner becomes a dividend receiver, or in other words, a capitalist. Again, the possessor of capital is not invariably in as good a position as the possessor of force.

Let me give you an illustration. It is within my experience that an investor was imprudent enough to place the whole of his capital in shares of a hotel that promised at first to pay large dividends. The investor calculated that not only would he secure a permanent residence and all his physical requirements provided in the hotel; but, in addition to this, have an increment in the shape of dividends above his proportion of expenses. If anyone had asked this investor to exchange places with the hall-porter, he would have ridiculed the very idea. In the end, the hotel was a financial failure; no dividends were returned, the capital eventually was exhausted, and the shares became worthless. The impoverished capitalist had to quit the hotel, and lost the means of living elsewhere; but the hall-porter, through all vicissitudes of the hotel, has remained at his post. This is a simple example of the fickleness of capital and the stability of labour.

The French school of Proudhon and his followers harp upon one theme, asking: What has the code of legislation and morals that sprang from the soil of Palestine ever done for the wage-earning classes? One of its defenders speaks thus:—

The Bible is at once the labourer's charter and text-book—the exponent of his rights and his duties—his defender and his monitor. There is no sacred book that evinces so lively a concern for the well-being of the labourer conjoined with so deep an appreciation of the nobility of labour. The man is protected throughout as against the capitalist. His tools may not be taken in pledge, and his covering is to be restored to him at sundown. Nor is the sentiment breathed one of mere kindness; it is pure justice. The judge is warned against respecting persons; but in order to prevent an illusion as to the warning being one-sided, he is also cautioned against favouring the humble

suitor to the detriment of his wealthy opponent. The ideal state, too, of the Pentateuch, is one in which the socialistic idea is predominant. The accumulation of capital is certainly not championed by a code which enjoins a periodical redistribution of the land among its original owners, or which orders all debts to be cancelled once in seven years. The affirmation by the Decalogue of the right of the servant to his seventh-day rest equally with his master is not the least striking indication of the justice which the Law meets out to the toiling classes. This equitable legislation has for its mainspring a recognition of the value of the labourer's vocation. Labour is seen to be the necessary constituent of the welfare of the State as well as the salt of the individual life. The designers of the Sanctuary—the men who wrought with their hands—are “filled with the spirit of God,” no less than the Lawgiver with whom the Highest communes face to face. It is the God-fearing man enjoying the fruits of his toil, whose lot is singled out by the Psalmist as the very type of happiness. But, besides this, every department of industrial life receives its endowment, so to speak, from the Law in politico-religious enactments, and it is the ancient sage who declares, *à la* Carlyle, that the diligent workman may deservedly stand before kings. Nay, who are the great men of the Bible, the rulers and the prophets, but the shepherd and the vine-dresser and the ploughman? Never is the labourer the mean man, the inferior of the rich. Work is not the primæval curse, but the true blessing, and those who do it are the servants of God. One affirmative command alone entered into Adam and Eve's code of duty; it was to till and keep the happy garden.

It was neither Confucius, nor Buddha, Solon, Lycurgus, nor Numa Pompilius that gave the toiler the right to one day in seven for rest and repose.

Moreover, the great question of the eight hours' movement, that is to say, the principle that one-third period should be devoted to work and two-thirds to relaxation and rest, is hinted at in I Kings v, 14. We find that the thirty thousand toilers that Solomon employed in constructing his temple should be a month in Lebanon and two months at home. The eight hours question is surrounded by so many difficulties that the advocates and

opponents have each much to say for themselves. John Burns says :—

I will give you briefly my reasons for being an advocate of an eight hour day by Act of Parliament. First, because it would prevent strikes and quarter our troops upon the enemy. I am in favour of eight hours by Parliamentary enactment, because only one and a half out of seven millions of skilled and unskilled workmen are in our unions. The non-unionists have not got money enough to supply themselves with food or clothing, or keep a roof over their heads sufficient time to starve the masters into yielding. What are we going to do? Are we going to wait until the five and a half millions join our unions? To my mind, if you do, you will have to wait forty or fifty years.

In a paper, *The Eight Hours' Day*, it appears that of thirteen millions of workers in this country, including four millions of women, only one and a half millions are trade unionists. The same work tells us :—

The instance of the Scotch railway strike shows how little it is to be relied upon to do what is required. In this case, a powerful union of railway workers, backed up by large funds, ordered a simultaneous strike on three railways. The moment chosen was so timed as to cause the maximum of inconvenience to the companies. The men's ground of complaint was one which specially appealed to public sympathy. They complained that they were kept at work for usually fourteen hours a day, and sometimes for nineteen or twenty hours. They asked, not for an eight hours' day, but for ten hours. The strike lasted for five weeks. It was supported by large subscriptions from trade societies not directly interested in the quarrel, and from many private persons. At the end of the five weeks the men made complete submission.

Another critic writes :—

If I remember rightly, the income of the nation is £1,200,000,000. £450,000,000, or above one-third of this, is paid in rent and interest to about 30,000 people. There is here a solid and wide margin for retrenchment. The rent and royalties—I quote from memory—of the 2,000 and odd mines in this country amount to over £3,000,000. That

is a sum equal to 70 per cent. of the gross profits made by working the mines, which seems to indicate that there is room for a reduction of miners' hours—*without* a reduction of wages. I find also a statement made by John Burns—and he is a man who knows what he is talking about—to the effect that out of a gross profit of thirty-seven millions made in a year by English railways, a total of nineteen millions was paid in wages. Which seems to imply that for every pound drawn by a railway servant he was obliged to earn two pounds for the shareholders. So that railway men ought not to be working from fourteen to twenty hours a day.

I have it on the authority of a large employer of labour, but I am personally not responsible for this assertion, that where machinery is employed, relays of operatives, working eight hours only, could keep machines going continuously and result in larger profit to the employer than under the present system.

Here another champion of the working man gives his opinion in print:—

The great reason why we should get an eight hours' day is because the workers ought to have more leisure and more pleasure in their lives, which now are all too anxious, too colourless, and sordid. I know there are many who don't see with me on this question. I have often been told that I make too much fuss about the dull and laborious nature of the average workman's life. I have often been twitted with the alleged contentment of the workpeople with their lot, and told that I, and such as I, only stir up dissatisfaction to no purpose. But I say I don't believe the workers are happy and contented with their lot, and even if they are I say they ought not to be, and it is my business to set them grumbling and seeking for better things. This is one of the few subjects upon which I am entitled to speak with the easy confidence of a man who understands what he is speaking about. I know that a workman's life is dull and drab, because I have tried it. I know that it is much healthier and pleasanter to have a due amount of rest and leisure, and an immunity from pecuniary care, because I have tried that too; and, speaking from experience, I declare again that the desire of the workers for something more than work and dinner, and newspaper, and beer, and the need of the workers for the pleasures and

refinements of a higher and brighter life are really the great reasons why a decrease in the hours of work is not only desirable but imperative. It seems to me that man should work to win for himself not only food, and rest, and shelter, but all that makes life sweet and noble also. That man, in short, should work to live, and not live to work; and it is because I see how much of the best that life contains is absent from the existence of the working people of this country that I am so desirous to see the working day reduced in length.

That which brightens the lives of the cultured classes is that they in most instances follow dual occupations—an occupation of duty and an occupation of relaxation. Might not the same opportunities tend to humanise and refine the asperities of the large army of discontented toilers.

Another employer of labour writes to me thus:—"Profit sharing is one of the great solutions of the future. Sidley Taylor has written much on this subject in various magazines. The difficulty, of course, is, how about loss sharing? In the lowest class of labour there can never be much advance, as the man is little better than, and sometimes inferior to, a machine."

Whether Prince Bismarck's enactment providing for the insurance of wage-earners, and making them annuitants at an advanced period of life, is likely to be successful, even in Germany, has yet to be tested. The present generation of British wage-earners have not yet altogether given up their national lines and idiosyncracies, and there is still a popular aversion to anything like a compulsory collection. Those who advocate national insurance in Great Britain retort that all taxation is compulsory, and this would only be one tax the more. We know that the vast majority of wage-earners prefer to live in houses where their rates are paid by their landlord, perhaps to avoid the semblance of tax-payment; and where wage-earners have to pay for gas and water, items of consumption which they enjoy in the immediate

present, they in many instances look upon it as an onerous impost, and it is not always easy to collect.

What would be the advantage of operatives ensuring provision in old age with conditions such as I will just quote from a technical journal? and this is only one of many trades which could make equally dismal confession :—

The *Trades Unionist* begins this week an exposure of unhealthy manufacturing processes with the first of a series of letters on the Alkali Union. It describes the method of obtaining, from salt, sulphate of soda, soda-ash, washing soda, hydrochloric acid, and bleaching powder; but it stops short of revelations of the effect of the manufacture on the men employed. In another part of the paper, however, these are summarised as follows :—“ To be literally eaten up by vitriol, to be compelled to work in a poisonous atmosphere where it is necessary to breathe through a dozen cards of flannel, to have to grease such portions of the body as are exposed to poisonous fumes, to have one’s teeth turned so soft that a crust cannot be chewed, to have the gums rot, to work under such conditions that one’s shirt falls off in bits of rag after three days’ wear, to do this week after week until one’s strength will no longer admit of it, is surely to do that which should command an exceptionally high rate of pay and relatively very few hours of work.” But the pay is low, and the hours are long.

Perhaps a few words on the Sweating System may not be inopportune. It appears to me to be inseparable from the modern method of making fabrics on speculation—that is to say, before the fabrics are wanted for use—and when vast numbers of the same article are purchased by warehousemen. The buyer thinks nothing of how they are produced, it is indispensable for him to obtain quantities, and the result is that the sweater fills the place in industry that the jobber does on the Stock Exchange, he supplies the broker with what he wants, and in the artificial atmosphere of speculation the jobber fulfils his sphere.

See how sweating operates even in the production of

Bibles. I extract this from a Conservative and orthodox journal:—*

It has been customary to view cheap Bibles as among the most certain civilizers of the period, but if we are to believe a correspondent of the *Newsagent*, cheap Bibles are not unqualified blessings. The charge is made that "in the preparation of Bibles for cheap sale there is practised a system of sweating more horrible in its results than any similar evil connected with any branch of publishing." Stripped of comment, the correspondent's statement is this—"The binding of Bibles is so poorly paid for that the workers, mostly women, cannot make living wages at it, and are in numbers of cases practically forced to other methods of increasing their income." If this be true, it is conceivable that such a business may do more harm than the cheap Bibles can remedy.

The question again presents itself whether speculation is not one of the evils of modern society. I know many hold the theory that no person should be allowed to sell what he does not possess, and by that means, perhaps, *corners* might be avoided. Legislation has gone so far as to prevent Bank Stock being sold by anyone for future delivery, unless he can give the numbers of the shares, this has effectually stopped what is known as "bearing" Bank Shares, and has certainly been productive of beneficial results.

The advocates of the free system as at present, say it would cripple and annihilate international trade, and that the analogy of Bank Stock being restricted in sale is not to the point, as the vast proportion of shares is held in Great Britain. Again, they urge that every trade has, more or less, to sell what it does not possess. Take the case of the Government that makes a contract with a navy butcher to supply meat all the year round at a given tariff, and so lends itself to a "bear" transaction, inasmuch as the wholesale butcher sells what he does not possess—animals, in fact, that are still living in foreign countries

* *Liverpool Courier*, April 28, 1891.

are eventually slaughtered and bought in at a price to recoup the speculative contractor for his venture. On the other hand, the government secures itself against a rise or fall in the market, and throws the onus of risk upon the contractor, both sides hoping to gain by the transaction.

Scientists tell us that artificial living produces nervous maladies, from which those who lead a natural life have a perfect immunity. It is but just to infer that those neurotic symptoms may betray themselves from time to time in the social economical system when the artificial takes the place of the natural methods. Who is, however, to prescribe the the remedy, and can the patient carry out the prescription? Many a poor cramped wage-earner, gasping for breath in a Northern fog, might have his years prolonged by wintering in the South of France. The prescription is there, but how about carrying it into effect?

I have now, I venture to hope, carefully, if not successfully, diagnosed the phases of the labour problem. The solution lies in the womb of time. One thing I may venture safely to predict, that the wild theories of Karl Marx, Lassalle, Proudhon, and their English disciples, will not accomplish it. The Royal Commission now sitting on the labour question contains many earnest and thoughtful friends of humanity. Will the result of their deliberations tend in the direction of a truce? For to anticipate a perfect state of social peace between elements that possibly run on parallel lines, but never meet, is to aim at the unattainable. Should a time arrive when labour will command a paramount representation in the legislation of the world, it would indicate that the operative had reached a higher state of culture, and could trust with confidence his own fellow-craftsmen. If mankind reaches a common denominator of higher education, which in the end softens and humanises even the

irreconcilable, and when social critics are brought in contact with the practical, rather than the theoretical problems of life, I venture to hope that the result will be social construction and not social destruction.

Class distinctions have existed as long as human families have grouped themselves together for mutual aid and protection. Even in the changeless East, where habits are still the same as they were in the infancy of civilization, among the Bedouin tribes, where every member is supposed to be equal, where money loses its purchasing power, even there the man that best wields the sword in defence of his tribe, and the dervish that repeats the Koran by heart, have the best tents—*equality* for all can hardly be attained, but *justice and right* for all can. I am still one of those who believe in patience and hope; and those whose sphere of action is to spread that doctrine have yet a great and civilizing mission before them, and they will win—if they do not weaken their power for good, by internal dissensions.

If I am asked to choose in the world's conflict between the German and French materialistic school, whose horizon is bounded only by that which we can see, I venture on the words of the great thinker to ascend a step higher, where our intellects may be trained to see "more light."

In a valuable paper read last session by Mr. E. R. Russell, past president of the Society, referring to the lessons of history, he observes:—"It gives us ever in the best form for enlightened thought the problem of how the past is to promote the future; and, if it yield no help to us in solving that problem, the fault is ours." And Professor Hilty, the Helvetian historian, on the occasion of the celebration of the Sixth Centennial of Swiss Independence, reviews history somewhat similarly. He remarks:—"History is an unerring monitor if we read it

aright—few groups of human beings have survived the wreck of empires, and have emerged from every conflict unweakened and unimpaired, and only those few communities have done so, that have relied less on physical force, but rather on the still small voice that whispers cheerily—patience and hope.”

THE POETIC TEACHING OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

BY H. LONGUET HIGGINS.

It has been said that prose is for the age, whilst poetry is for all time; and the remark seems to be at all events true as regards literary criticism, which is essentially a product of the views current in its own age. In criticism Matthew Arnold's best prose work was done. Arnold, however, like Coleridge and Wordsworth, was a poet as well as a critic, and it is probable that his poetry, and consequently the view of life contained in it, will be remembered, when his volumes dealing with controversial theology, and the education and Irish questions, and perhaps even his purely literary essays, have long been forgotten. But, in so very prosaic, practical, and business-like a community as Liverpool, one feels it almost necessary to apologise for introducing a discussion on Poetry unless, as you will naturally expect with a view to accuracy and precision, I can begin with a definition of the subject. Alas! I have no precise definition to offer. With regard to such great questions as—what is Truth? what is Life? what is Religion? men to this day have never agreed as to the exact answer to be given. Indeed, I am thankful that with respect to Life, and the great subjects (including religion and poetry) that deal with and are a part of life, no such mathematically complete definitions are possible, as when we say of a square that it is a quadrilateral figure that has all its sides equal, and all its angles right angles. Life, and the problems of life, happily cannot yet be expressed in mathematical formulæ. Still, numerous descriptions (as distinguished from defi-

nitions) of Poetry have been attempted; and, next to Wordsworth's well-known saying, that poetry is the breath or finer spirit of all knowledge, I know of few or none wider than Matthew Arnold's statement, that "poetry is simply the most beautiful, impressive, and widely effective way of saying things"*; or, as he elsewhere puts it, "Poetry is simply the most delightful and perfect form of utterance that human words can reach"†. But it is clear that the last two descriptions only touch its form or outward aspect; whereas, the glory of poetry is that it is "*thought* and art in one,"—"thought touched with imagination and emotion." To-night we have to deal with the substance rather than the form of poetry; the view of life and the teaching which it contains, and, indeed, must contain if poetry be, as Lewis Morris has said, "that which deals with great and worthy subjects worthily, and with a view to noble emotion."

What are Matthew Arnold's views of the substance and function of poetry? He tells us that poetry is "a criticism of life, under the conditions fixed for such a criticism of life by the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty;" that "the noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness," and that the best poetry is distinguished by its *σπουδαϊότης*—its high and excellent seriousness.‡ If this be so, it follows that, to keep pace with the ever-increasing complexities of modern life, the substance of poetry must gradually become of more importance than the form. In other words, poetry must, and does, obey the law of evolution, which has governed the development of other forms of literature, such as history. Once history was almost a fine art, and it has gradually become

* *Essays in Criticism*, 1st Series, p. 161. † *Irish Essays*, p. 154.

‡ *Essay on the Study of Poetry*.

more laboriously accurate and precise, at the expense of its purely literary excellence. So, too, there is a deeper analogy between the development of poetry and music than many would imagine. In each art, ancient strict rules gradually give way before a greater freedom of thought and of the expression of thought, just as the formal outlines of so-called "classic" architecture were succeeded by the lovely richness and flowing traceries of the Gothic style. In one century we find Bach and Handel, and, in the next, such wonderful *tone-poets* as Schubert and Schumann. Everywhere in the Arts the innate poetry in man's nature gradually produces a greater freedom of expression.

THE POET AS A TEACHER.

If "high seriousness," and "the noble and profound application of ideas to life," are the real tests of the best poetry, the poet must necessarily become, in spite of himself and without any conscious intention, a prophet and teacher of his fellow men. "Every great poet," said Wordsworth, "is a teacher; I wish to be considered as a teacher or as nothing." And it will surely not be far wrong to say that such poets as Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, and Matthew Arnold are great thinkers and teachers of men, though they differ widely in their respective views of life, or (as Matthew Arnold would express it) in their criticism of life, and though opinions may and do differ widely as to the merits of the lessons, not less powerful because indirect, conveyed to us in their writings.

ARNOLD'S VIEW OF LIFE.

In attempting to estimate the value of the teaching, or if you prefer the phrase, the view of life, contained in Matthew Arnold's poems, I propose very briefly to enquire whether we

find in them an *adequate* application of ideas to life and the problems of life. Does the poet boldly face and wrestle with such great problems as sin, sorrow, pain, imperfection, and failure, and does he brace and strengthen us to meet them? Or are his writings sicklied o'er with the pale cast of Doubt, with nothing offered us, by way of consolation for the loss of our early hopes and beliefs, but a brave and resolute endeavour to meet our fate as best we may? Matthew Arnold has given us some keen criticisms of his own acknowledged intellectual masters: Wordsworth and Goethe. Of the first-named he said:—

But Wordsworth's eyes avert their ken
From half of human fate.

and again:—

Others will strengthen us to bear—
But who, ah! who will make us feel?
The cloud of mortal destiny,
Others will front it fearlessly—
But who, like him, will put it by? *

It appears to me that this is equally true of Wordsworth's most eminent disciple, Matthew Arnold. He hardly touches, much less adequately deals with, such problems as Sin, Sorrow, Pain, and Failure. But if a poet's eyes are averted from the "half of human fate," how can it be said of him, as Arnold said of Sophocles, that he "saw life steadily and saw it whole," or that he followed out Arnold's own favourite maxim, that we should see things as they really are? If a poet aspire to be a prophet and teacher of men, is it for him to put by the "cloud of mortal destiny," and avert his eyes from the half of human fate? Surely the view of life taken by one who does this must be partial and inadequate, though he find ever so much balm to his own perturbed spirit in the

* *Memorial Verses.*

calm aspect of nature. It may here be remarked that Arnold rarely depicts strong passions or emotions of any kind; and, even in his *Sohrab and Rustum*, we feel that, after the storm and turmoil of the tragedy, he passes with intense relief to the contrast afforded by the contemplation of the calm, majestic flow of the great river, Oxus, towards his "home of waters" in the Aral Sea. Again, Arnold says of Goethe:—

He took the suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear;
And struck his finger on the place,
And said: *Thou ailest here, and here!**

These lines also appear to me to apply to the view of life exhibited by the poetry of Matthew Arnold. Perhaps no one has ever clothed in such exquisite language the results of what Arnold terms the poet's "sad lucidity of soul"†—the doubts and despondencies arising from the insufficiency of our early creeds;‡ the pathos arising from the intense loneliness and isolation of individual lives, whether of men§ or of animals; || the unalterable laws to which our lives are subject:—

We, in some unknown Power's employ,
Move on a rigorous line;
Can neither, when we will, enjoy,
Nor, when we will, resign. ¶

and the apparent want of life and emotion in Nature:—

Fools that these mystics are
Who prate of Nature! for she
Hath neither beauty, nor warmth,
Nor life, nor emotion, nor power.
But man has a thousand gifts,
And the generous dreamer invests
The senseless world with them all.**

* *Memorial Verses.* † *Resignation.* ‡ *Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse.*

§ *Isolation—To Marguerite.* || *Poor Matthias.*

¶ *In Memory of the Author of Obermann.* ** *The Youth of Man.*

Nature, to Arnold, teaches resignation and fortitude rather than gladness :—

The solemn hills around us spread,
This stream which falls incessantly,
The strange-scrawled rocks, the lonely sky—
If I might lend their life a voice,
Seem to bear rather than rejoice.*

With three great subjects, however, Matthew Arnold certainly does deal in his poetry; viz., Doubt, Death, and the question of a Future Life.

(1) *Doubt*. This, with Matthew Arnold, is a state of cold, haughty, self-satisfied mental superiority to the mass of the credulous believers in ancient religions. Arnold, as it were, inwardly thanks God that he is not as other men are in this respect. He does, it is true, pay a just tribute to the good to be found in all ancient faiths :

Which has not taught weak wills how much they can?
Which has not fallen on the dry heart like rain?
Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man:
Thou must be born again ? †

But the burden of his teaching is that

Unduped of fancy, henceforth man
Must labour!—must resign
His all too human creeds, and scan
Simply the way divine! ‡

How different is this treatment of Doubt to that which we find in Tennyson and Browning! There is no hint here of Tennyson's generous admission that

There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

or of Browning's splendid recognition and proclamation

* *Resignation.*

† *Progress.*

‡ *Obermann Once More.*

of the fact that only through Doubt can we attain to a higher and purer Faith.

(2) *Death*. In the poem entitled *A Wish*, Arnold touchingly expresses a desire, on the approach of death, to be drawn to the window, that his dying eyes may look once more upon

The world which was ere I was born,
The world which lasts when I am dead;
Which never was the friend of *one*,
Nor promised love it could not give,
But lit for all its generous sun,
And lived itself, and made us live.

And what are his aspirations at this solemn moment?

There let me gaze, till I become
In soul, with what I gaze on, wed!
To feel the universe my home.

* * * * *

Thus feeling, gazing, might I grow
Composed, refresh'd, ennobled, clear;
Then willing let my spirit go
To wait or work elsewhere or here!

Compare this with such a poem as Browning's *Prospice*.

(3) *A Future Life*. It is hard to find in Arnold's poems any decided expression of either belief or disbelief in a future existence. But the vagueness of his belief must have been very great before he could write, in that most touching little poem—*Geist's Grave*:

Stern law of every mortal lot!
Which man, proud man, finds hard to bear,
And builds himself I know not what
Of second life I know not where.

No one can fail to be struck, both in this poem and in *Poor Matthias* (also written on the death of a domestic

pet), with a note of true pathos which is only too rarely found amid the cold calmness, and melancholy but brave resignation expressed in his greater poems. And what is the lesson he would have us draw? In *The Better Part* Arnold says:—

Hath man no second life?—*Pitch this one high!*
 Sits there no judge in Heaven, our sin to see?
More strictly, then, the inward judge obey?
 Was Christ a man like us? *Ah! let us try*
If we then, too, can be such men as He?"

But what if we strive, and strive, and yet fail? Nowhere does Arnold tell us, as Browning does, of the glory and nobleness of unsatisfied aspirations,—unrealised successes; or, like Browning, recognise and proclaim again and again, that Failure in this life "is both the evidence and the promise of future attainment, Imperfection the necessary condition of growth, Error the means by which we must arrive at Truth, and Sorrow and suffering the moral training through which alone man can attain to his highest life."*

Perhaps I can best attempt to illustrate what I conceive to be the leading characteristics of Matthew Arnold's poetry by a comparison. Browning's poetry is essentially the poetry of noble human passions and emotions, and of hopes of progress, and a glorious future for *individual* lives. Tennyson's leading ideas are those of Law and order as exemplified in Evolution, foreshadowing a glorious hope for humanity, not as individuals, but as a race. The dominant notes of Arnold's poetry are (1) the calm and tranquillity taught to us by the study of Nature, and (2) austere resignation and brave fortitude. †

* See the author's paper on *Browning's View of the Shadows and Minor Keys of Life*, in vol. xlv. of these *Proceedings*.

† As to the latter, see especially *Rugby Chapel* and *The Future*.

In the poem entitled *Self-Dependence*, we have the (apparent) calm and tranquillity of the starry universe set before us as a lesson in self-sufficingness. And in the *Lines written in Kensington Gardens* we find the often quoted verses :—

Calm soul of all things! make it mine
To feel, amid the city's jar,
That there abides a peace of thine,
Man did not make and cannot mar.

The will to neither strive nor cry,
The power to feel with others give!
Calm, calm me more, nor let me die
Before I have begun to live.

To obtain inward peace, we must trust *ourselves* :—

Resolve to be thyself; and know that he,
Who finds himself, loses his misery! *

and, above all, we must *look within* :—

Once read thy own breast right,
And thou hast done with fears;
Man gets no other light,
Search he a thousand years.

Sink in thyself! there ask what ails thee, at that shrine! †

Peace we may thus attain, but what as to happiness? Happiness, says Arnold, is not the aim of the world, nor the right of man; yet we may look for a moderate amount of it. ‡ This brings us to his crowning lesson of life: Moderation—the Greek *σωφροσύνη*—in everything is the great secret :—

Moderate tasks and moderate leisure,
Quiet living, strict-kept measure
Both in suffering and in pleasure—
'Tis for this thy nature yearns. §

* *Self-Dependence*. † *Empedocles on Etna*. ‡ *Ibid*.
§ *The Second Best*.

And in the same poem Arnold paints the picture of his ideal Wise Man. This is he—

Who through all he meets can steer him,
Can reject what cannot clear him,
Cling to what can truly cheer him ;
Who each day more surely learns
That an impulse, from the distance
Of his deepest, best existence,
To the words, " Hope, Light, Persistence,"
Strongly sets and truly burns.

In one poem only does Arnold acknowledge the truth that, after all,

*Calm 's not life's crown, though calm is well.**

Now, I am far from saying that the quotations hitherto made do not exhibit a " noble and profound application of ideas to life." But I do say that the ideas applied do not include the widest and far-reaching ideas of the present day, namely, those brought before us by modern science and the all-embracing doctrine of Evolution, so well made use of by Robert Browning. Arnold's " sad lucidity of soul " is merely that " lucidity " which he commended to us in 1882, in his address at Liverpool University College, and which he then merely defined negatively, thus: "Negatively, lucidity is the perception of the want of truth and validness in notions long current: the perception that they are no longer possible, that their time is finished, and they can serve us no more." † From such a partial lucidity as this nothing but a *destructive* criticism of life can arise. It would almost be true to say of Matthew Arnold :—

But Arnold's eyes avert their ken
From half of modern thought.

* *Youth and Calm.* † *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1882, p. 718.

To be a strong and inspiring teacher of men, and to "prop in these bad days our minds," the poet must above all things be in harmony with the greatest and best ideas, not only of ancient Greece, but of his own age, and therefore of modern science. Thus only can he gain such broad views and conceptions as will enable him to frame a *constructive* criticism of life, and save him from the sad intellectual fate, described in the *Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse*, of

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

Happily, we need not all be in this hopeless and aimless condition of thought, or agree with the assertions, in the same poem, that "the best are silent now," and that "the kings of modern thought are dumb."

It cannot, I think, be said of Arnold's view of life that it supplies our intellectual needs—"the hungry thought that must be fed,"* still less (and this is perhaps even more important) that it "satisfieth the empty soul"—our emotional wants and aspirations.

We may perhaps liken such poetry as that of Tennyson and Browning, glowing like that of Shakespeare with the rich colours of the whole range of human thoughts and emotions, to the arts of painting and music, which only in modern times have been carried to such perfection as to fully satisfy our emotional needs. In like manner I think we may compare such poetry as that of Matthew Arnold, in its strong light and shade without colour, and severity of classical and almost faultless form, to sculpture, the art *par excellence* of ancient Greece. And, indeed, to sum up, I think that Arnold's poetic teaching exhibits a very beautiful modern application to life of the best ancient Greek ideas, such ideas as we find in the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, almost the

* *The New Sirens.*

last rose of the summer of Greek stoical thought. How touching are the closing passages of Matthew Arnold's essay on Aurelius! And they seem to me to receive so much added pathos from their applicability to Arnold himself—that apostle of Neo-Hellenism—that you will perhaps forgive me for recalling them to your memory. After sympathetically describing Aurelius as “the especial friend and comforter of all clear-headed and scrupulous yet pure-hearted and upward striving men,” he proceeds:—

He cannot give such souls, perhaps, all they yearn for, but he gives them much; and what he gives them, they can receive. Yet no, it is not for what he thus gives them that such souls love him most! it is rather because of the emotion which lends to his voice so touching an accent, it is because he too yearns as they do for something unattained by him. . . . We see him, wise, just, self-governed, tender, thankful, blameless; yet, with all this, agitated, stretching out his arms for something beyond—*tendentque manus ripae ulterioris amore*.

What is that “something beyond,” in the case of Arnold? Surely it is that firm belief in God and trust in man, and in a glorious destiny for man, that characterises the strong, manly poetry of Browning,—the firm conviction that

God's in his heaven—
All's right with the world!

THE DESTINY OF POETRY.

Let us now turn to Matthew Arnold's view as to the future of poetry. In the case of so great a master of the art of literary criticism, it seems to me that the expression of his mature judgment on this subject is worthy of our best consideration. He has told us that

The future of poetry is immense, because in poetry, where it is worthy of its high destinies, our race, as time goes on, will find an ever

surer and surer stay. . . . More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us. Without poetry our science will appear incomplete; and *most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry.**

Let us examine these statements very briefly. I think there can be no doubt that the first of them is true. The end of poetry has always been said to be pleasure, but the days are fast disappearing when poetry can, in the view of thoughtful men, be considered as a mere pleasure or luxury—as a mere pastime or refreshment for an idle or leisure hour. The subject-matter or substance of poetry is already, in accordance with an inexorable law of development, becoming of more importance than its literary form, though, as Lewis Morris believes, poetry will probably always continue to be embodied in a more or less rhythmical form. For all strong emotion tends to become rhythmic. Indeed science, which is so often thought to be the very opposite of poetry, would tend to shew that all motion is rhythmical, and that the poet is simply uttering a literal truth when he tells us that

Thou canst not wave thy staff in air,
Nor dip thy paddle in the lake,
But it carves the brow of beauty there,
And the ripples in rhymes the oars forsake.†

Moreover, when language is clothed in rhythmic form, it adds very greatly to its *rememberability*, if I may use such a word. Hence, verse is everywhere more ancient than prose, and this quality alone will always continue to give Poetry an advantage over her younger and less rhythmical sister. It has been well said that there are only two strong

* Essay on *The Study of Poetry*. (The italics are mine.)

† See the chapter on "The Rhythm of Motion" in Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*.

conquerors of the forgetfulness of men—Architecture and Poetry. When our hearts are deeply stirred, when we are weary and heavy laden, when we need to be reminded that

. . . tasks in hours of insight willed
Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled—

we turn to wise and noble thoughts that are rarely if ever on our lips, but dwell in our inmost memories by reason of the exquisite grace, emphasis, and terseness with which they have been embodied in language more or less rhythmical and poetical, the beautiful setting in which they become the jewels—

That on the outstretched forefinger of all Time
Sparkle for ever.

What aphorisms in prose can compare with those which are scattered through the pages of our best poets?

Again, to turn for a moment to a species of poetry of which Matthew Arnold thought very little, there is no doubt that hymns are one of the strongest parts of our popular religion. To many, such compositions as "Abide with me," and "Nearer, my God, to Thee," are almost a religion in themselves. In another sphere, Browning's *Grammarians' Funeral* has been well termed "the charter of each disinterested student." And, not to multiply instances, how great a spiritual guide and comfort to many is such a poem as *In Memoriam*! Poetry, "to be worthy of its high destinies," must henceforth interpret life and its problems in and by the light of modern science and the doctrine of Evolution. Fortunate, indeed, are we that Tennyson, and, in a greater degree, Browning, have had the insight and the courage to do this! They have thus become pioneers of a new era for poetry.

(2) "*Without poetry our science will appear incomplete.*" This is but a partial statement of the truth that,

without poetry, science must ever be incomplete. They can never be antagonistic, as they are merely the lower and higher aspects of the same facts. If we regard this life and its problems as the cloud of mortal destiny, Science sees but its lower or dark side, whilst Poetry rises into the higher atmosphere, where the Cloud is seen in the light of the Divine wisdom and love. So long as man continues to have a heart as well as a head, so long will there be rays in the spectrum of Truth, which are now perceptible only by our emotions, and will remain so until the intellect has been trained to perceive them. Professor Clifford told us that science must ever be in advance of poetry; but there seems to be much to be said in favour of the converse view. Science is but common knowledge raised to a high degree of accuracy (the difference being one of degree only, not of kind); and the best poetry is but science and philosophy raised to their highest power—where they cross the threshold of Religion. The more our early belief in the poetry of Nature has been dispelled by the study of (say) Darwin and Herbert Spencer, the more we need to turn again from their writings to Poetry to re-create in us our early poetic feeling, and to adapt the facts accumulated by science to the need in us for beauty, for conduct, and for the higher truth. The best poetry, as Mazzini says, will ever be that which makes the reader most poetical. We need to extend our ideas of the poetry in common life, for, in truth, all high and noble thoughts, emotions, and actions are of their very nature poetical.

(3) Lastly, we come to the prediction that “most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry.” Arnold has somewhere said that the strongest part of our religion is its unconscious poetry; and if by this we understand the most beautiful and worthiest expression of our deepest and best feelings, I agree with

him. But, in the passage before us, he uses the words, "*most of what now passes with us* for religion," and he is here probably referring to that narrow view of religion, which makes it consist chiefly in the unquestioning acceptance of some particular system of theological dogmas, and an equally unquestioning belief in the truth of certain alleged miraculous events in past ages. In my view, these dogmas and beliefs are but the scaffolding, under shelter of which the glorious edifice of modern Christian thought, feeling, and conduct, has been slowly reared. Many can hardly see the fabric for the scaffolding, and as the latter is gradually but slowly taken down (its purpose being accomplished), they are apprehensive as to the safety of the building. But it only stands out the clearer and fairer in the light of the modern, but no less Divine, revelation afforded us by science and the doctrine of Evolution. The Divine voice has never ceased, and will never cease, to speak to mankind at sundry times and in divers manners; and can we doubt that these include the highest and worthiest thoughts of the wisest and best modern thinkers and teachers? It is for our poet-philosophers to renew the faith of our youth in Nature and Nature's God, to robe science in the shining garments of poetry, and to show how glorious a path lies before poetry in the future. But Poetry can never *replace* what is highest and best in religion and philosophy, for she herself is but the most beautiful medium of expression of man's highest and worthiest thoughts. As Matthew Arnold has said, the noblest and best races are those which know how to make the most serious use of poetry, and, as ancient stereotyped creeds and dogmas gradually pass away before the light of increasing knowledge, Poetry will more and more strengthen and guide our footsteps, and point out to weary wanderers on life's path how fair and bright is the prospect before humanity. "Say not," said a dear friend of Matthew

Arnold, born in Liverpool on a day of hope and promise—
New Year's Day:—

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

* * * * *

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

CERTAIN FAILURES IN LUCIDITY ON MATTHEW ARNOLD'S PART.

By RICHARD A. ARMSTRONG.

I PLACE Matthew Arnold in the very front rank among writers of modern English prose. And I should recognise two characteristics as mainly serving to entitle him to such high place. The first is the exquisite delicacy of his railery—a fine sarcasm, contrasting with some forms of satire as the flick of the whip in the hands of an accomplished tandem-driver contrasts with the blow of an Irish shillelagh. And the second characteristic is a lucidity, marvellous, on the whole, in the evenness of its tenour through long and diverse ranges of difficult disquisition. And such lucidity, we all know, he preached as the very gospel of literature: and in such lucidity he took a just pride.

It is then a not unnatural effect of that carnal temper which is always more rampant in a Christian preacher on a Monday than on any other day the week through, that I who, as Dissenter, Radical, and Philistine, have so often flinched under the flick of that delicately handled whip, should seek some recreation in finding holes here and there, if I may, in the lucidity of expression of this master and apostle of lucidity.

Let me ask you, in the first place, to consider a phrase in which Mr. Arnold always took a special joy, which he put forward not as a literary or poetic, but statedly and emphatically as a scientific, definition of God—inadequate, indeed, he allows, but strictly scientific: "*the stream of*

tendency by which all things seek to fulfil the law of their being." It would be hard to find a phrase in the English language more packed with those literary vices against which Mr. Arnold habitually inveighs. In the first place, this, which is to be a definition, not for "abstruse reasoners" with a fatal talent for metaphysics, but for the "plain man," is saturated with metaphysics. "Tendency" is a term purely metaphysical. That is to say, it stands for an abstract conception to which positive science is in the nature of things unable to assign any positive existence. No man can know "tendency" by direct observation or experience; he can only infer it as a metaphysical explanation of observed phenomena.

Again, to speak of "things seeking to fulfil" a law, is to be guilty of that personification of the inanimate which is the vice both of metaphysical and of theological thought, a vice for which those modes of thought are perpetually rebuked by positive thinkers, with Mr. Arnold at their head. To "seek" is the act of a conscious being; and if Mr. Arnold pleads that he uses the word in metaphor only, the reply is that none knows better than he that metaphor has no business in a scientific definition.

Further, passing over the fact that you cannot have a "stream" of any purely metaphysical entity, we observe that the ideas at the root of "stream" and "tendency" are mutually exclusive. The idea at the root of "stream" is *flowing*. You may have streams of air, of water, or of molten lead; but they are not streams unless they flow. But the idea at the root of "tendency" is *inclined to motion, but not yet moving*. The moment motion begins, tendency is replaced by that to which it tended. Therefore, the phrase "stream of tendency" is equivalent to "flowing of that which is not yet moving"—as flat a contradiction as a square circle or black light.

Once more, the word "law" is ambiguous in this definition, as it so often is in pseudo-scientific writing. "Law" may mean, as it does in the phrase, "law of nature," *uniformity of phenomena*, or it may mean, as it does in political language, *commandment as to conduct*. But if, in this definition, law has the former meaning, the reply is that "things"—whatever you include under "things"—necessarily fulfil the law of their being without any seeking; whereas, if "law" here carry the latter signification, the reply is that "things" have no more power to fulfil a commandment than they have to seek. Obedience and disobedience belong to rational beings only.

Our verdict, then, on this famous phrase must be that, loose as is the connotation which different minds attach to the great monosyllable, 'God,' this scientific definition is looser still, and makes but confusion worse confounded.

Let me only add that while Matthew Arnold recognises to the full thankfulness and prayer as right attitudes of man towards God, none of us could by any spiritual jugglery be grateful to a "stream," or bow our souls in prayer to it. Still less is such a disposition on our part conceivable towards a "tendency."

The startling collapse of this famous definition under the simplest analysis emboldens even a humble admirer and grateful student of Matthew Arnold to seek whether there may not be other slips in lucidity within the compass of his essays. I have found none other which seems to me so flagrant or so disastrous, but I am constrained to think that this is no isolated case.

Mr. Arnold has added one more to the innumerable definitions of religion coined by thoughtful and earnest men. "The true meaning of religion," says he, "is morality touched by emotion." Would it not be more lucid and more true to say that religion is an emotion which touches

morality? The faculties of the inner man are so bound together that it is only in thought that they can be separated and distinguished. But to separate and distinguish them in thought is the first essential of accurate thinking. And morality, though always accompanied by emotion, is itself no emotion, but a function of the will. But religion is emotion. However you define its object—as God, as Humanity, as conduct—the religion itself is a feeling or emotion. It is love, reverence, allegiance, loyalty, devotion to some Being, or to Principle. Therefore, however essential as the inspiration or supplement of morality, it is not itself morality—not even morality touched with emotion. The truth which underlies the misleading definition, however, is an important one: when morality is touched with emotion, religion is always there.

“Conduct,” says Arnold, is the “object of religion.” That is bad by way of scientific statement—hopeless in the matter of lucidity. For the word “object” has a more varied run of meanings than almost any word in our language. Johnson says it means: (1) That about which any power or faculty is employed; (2) Something presented to the senses to raise any affection or emotion in the mind; (3) Anything influenced by something else. A lucid writer should tell us in which of these several senses he regards conduct as the object of religion.

“When we are asked further,” says Matthew Arnold, “what is conduct?—let us answer: *Three-fourths of life.*” “The only doubt,” he has written just before, “is whether we ought not to make the range of conduct wider still, and to say it is four-fifths of human life, or five-sixths.” There is in these arithmetical computations a quite false lucidity,—a parade of exactness and precision where the standard applied is in truth entirely inapplicable. Life cannot thus be weighed out in pounds, or measured up in

cubic feet. In one view, conduct is the whole of life; for every activity of will is conduct, and will is only inactive for good or evil in sleep and death. In another view, conduct is but a secondary effect of life; for the life resides in the unseen self behind, with all that mystery of experience which we sum up as feeling, and the conduct is a matter external to the life. In any case, this formula of Arnold's, which, as we know, he brings in again and again as the starting point of disquisition after disquisition, as though it were the key to an algebraic equation, if we are to find in it lucidity at all, is of a lucidity wholly misleading and scientifically vicious.

There is a clean-cut look about all these crucial phrases of Mr. Arnold's, that one is apt, indeed, to take for lucidity. They look neat. They sound precise. Each word has an air of being chosen with the utmost care. And they are exceedingly convenient and effective as premises from which to argue. They are always ingenious, always suggestive; but as foundations for a clear argument in matters of ethical and spiritual concern, I am constrained to deem them hopelessly illusive. Grant them at the start, and the reasoning drawn from them is singularly lucid and persuasive; but test them phrase by phrase, and word by word, before you grant them.

Let me conclude with a brief allusion to Arnold's interpretation of the religion of Israel. He possesses a most rare gift for piercing to the inner meaning of prophet and apostle behind the characteristic expression of the time and of the race. I know, for example, no more delightful exegesis of the Apostle of the Gentiles than his "St. Paul and Protestantism." But I cannot think that he is critically right in the exposition of Hebrew Theism which formed so important a section of "Literature and Dogma." He presses on us with the utmost force and truth the fact that Israel had no turn for metaphysics, had never considered the metaphysical definition of personality, had, indeed, never argued

that the Eternal who makes for righteousness is a person. That is quite true ; nor has any little child ever considered the like problems in reference to its father or its mother. But for all that, it is as a person that the child thinks and feels towards its parent. Without self-consciousness or reasoning it attributes to its mother conscious selfhood, will, emotion, love. And precisely so the Hebrew towards Jehovah. The whole literature is the literature of a people saturated with the sense of communion with a Living Being. I am not discussing whether this sense was founded in truth or in error. But it seems to me a most marvellous misreading not to perceive that, if Matthew Arnold had gone to Isaiah and said, "Why not call your Holy One a stream of tendency ; after all, all you know is that there is a power not yourself that makes for righteousness ?"—Isaiah would have put him on a level with the workman who set the goldsmith to spread over his graven image with gold and cast for it silver chains ; and would have given us one more sublime and immortal outburst concerning "the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth."

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HEREDITY AND VARIATION.

By W. E. SHARP.

I FEEL I must crave your indulgence as members of the Literary and Philosophical Society for inviting your attention to a theme which seems more properly to belong to the sphere of purely biological enquiry. I cannot, indeed, claim for my subject any place in the domain of literature, but as philosophers, whose province is omniscience, I am not without hope that a brief examination of some of the most fascinating of recent speculations in Biology may be of interest to you.

I intend to ask you to follow me over a somewhat intricate and perhaps even difficult piece of ground to a goal which admits of no very definite conclusion. I pretend to no original research in these matters. I merely propose to focus, as it were, the outcome of recent thought in what must be held as some of the fundamental problems of the organic world—that of Heredity, or like producing like—that of Variation, or like producing unlike.

Without, then, lingering to further define these terms, let us proceed to endeavour to show how, in such phenomena, we discover almost the master problem of organic nature.

Now most people in these later days hold the doctrine of Evolution. That word, the series of facts which that idea comprehends, requires no special explanation here. It is simply a recognition of the ramific order of Creation; of development of species throughout time in consequential

succession, one form arising from another, simple producing complex, and complex more complex in ever-increasing intensity, and ever-spreading ramification. That is the idea of evolution; but we must be careful to distinguish between the theory of evolution and that of natural selection. Both united are commonly called Darwinism, but the ideas are in reality distinct. The Darwinian thesis recognizes the first, and explains it by the last; but neither Darwin nor Wallace invented the idea of evolution, although they certainly brought into definite shape that of natural selection. We need not now recapitulate all the array of arguments which go to prove this theory. The struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest—these things are well known to all of you, and are now, indeed, the commonplace of science.

But Darwin recognized as clearly as anyone that these explanations do not solve the problem of the variety of organic life—that the question which pressed for solution was really this: what originated the fitness? Natural selection; the comparative supremacy in the battle of life of those best equipped—this was but the machinery which directed the deviation from type, and guided the path of the developmental power. It was evident that the real underlying problem was: How did the initial variety arise upon which natural selection acted? And here we see at once how important a part this phenomenon of variation assumes in the Darwinian scheme.

But leaving this question unanswered for a moment, let us consider how far the theory of natural selection has been found adequate to stand the strain imposed upon it. Can it elucidate all the diversity of form and function which we see around us? will it decipher for us all the obscure hieroglyphics of nature? ever bearing in mind, as we must, that the whole theory rests upon the assumption of the inherit-

ance, and the accumulation by inheritance, of constitutional or congenital variation.

Now it is in the scope of this assumption that Darwinism differs from Lamarkism. Lamark believed and grounded his theory of evolution in the inheritance of acquired as opposed to congenital variation. Let us take an example. In accounting for the existence of the giraffe, Lamark supposed an antelope which, having acquired the habit of browsing on the topmost shoots of young trees, gradually, by constant endeavour, lengthened the cervical vertebræ and muscles, and—and this is the important point—*was able to bequeath this characteristic to its descendants in ever-increasing intensity*, so that, after many generations, the antelope became a giraffe. Now this explanation involves the assumption of the possibility of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, and many facts examined since the days of Lamark go to disprove such an assumption. Darwin himself certainly could not entirely accept it; and, consequently repudiating the idea that individual exertion resulting in individual variation could be bequeathed, supposed that the *tendency to long-neckedness* was somehow born in the animal; and that the fortuitous crossing of two individuals, each with such a tendency, resulted in offspring still more long-necked; and that such privileged individuals, having the best chance of food, were able to increase in greater numbers than the shorter necked brethren, and finally, to develop into giraffes. I trust I have made this distinction between Lamarkism and Darwinism clear, as it has the most important bearing on the origin of variation.

But the question still remains:—Although Darwinism may explain better than Lamarkism the phenomenon of a giraffe, can all peculiarities of structure and divergence from type be so explained? and since the death of its author many minds have been at work testing the endurance of this

theory of natural selection, or enlarging the domain of its power. Those who are familiar with the works of Professor Weissmann will remember how beautifully that biologist explains the hitherto meaningless colours and markings of lepidopterous larvæ entirely through the agency of the survival of the fittest. Many other workers have been following similar lines of investigation. Whole categories of facts in realms unsuspected at first of being in any degree the result of evolution, have been brought under its influence, and adduced as evidences of its comprehensive sway. In one of his most careful arguments, indeed, does Weissmann suggest death itself to be but the result of natural selection, and paradoxically explains mortality by the survival of the fittest.

On the other hand, it has grown upon many thinkers that, after all, this doctrine leaves very much unexplained.

As we have pointed out before, natural selection does not attempt to account for the *initial variation*: it can but influence its further direction.

But apart from this, there are very many specific characteristics in which it seems impossible to find any accruing advantage to the species. Many of these, no doubt, are what may be regarded as correlated variations, that is, variations arising in conjunction with some advantageous variation, not themselves advantageous, but induced by the necessity of the organism. But there are other deviations from type which can scarcely be explained in this way, such as those sexual peculiarities of form and colour which we call secondary sexual characteristics. Now, you know Darwin's explanation of these things by sexual selection, which he invokes as an adjunct to natural selection, not, be it noted, as a superior or altogether diverse power. But this explanation of Darwin's, Wallace—who, as you know, was the joint originator of Darwin's prime theory—does not deem suffi-

cient; Wallace has his own ideas on the subject; and in his explanation we may notice the intrusion of a power inherent in the organism, and one quite distinct from, and independent of, natural selection. Thus, to take an example: Darwin would have said, considering some brilliant tropical butterfly: This insect, originally uniform and inconspicuous, finally developed into its present resplendent coloration because a succession of females preferred such males as exhibited any slight tendency to extra spots or extra brilliance, and pairing preferably with such, insured a preponderating offspring in which the same tendency was still more intensified, and so continued till the present climax of splendour or elaboration was attained. Wallace, on the contrary, would say: The male, whether of bird or insect, was brilliant from the first in obedience to a physical principle of his nature—that is, of the male as opposed to the female nature—but that the female in birds was reduced from some mean which neither sex now manifest, to her present dulness and obscurity, through the agency of natural selection, necessitated by the need for extra protection during incubation and care of young; while the female in insects, not having such a charge to so great an extent, partially shared in the splendour of the male. Wallace, however, still explains a great number of markings and colours by the principle of survival, as being in some way advantageous to the race, either through protective resemblance, of which the grouse and the sole are examples; or as affording signals either of recognition, as the bars on the tail of the wood pigeon, or of danger to the community, as the white underside of the rabbit's tail; but this biologist refuses to put much faith in Darwin's sexual selective agency; and this is one of the principal points wherein he and the Master differ.

But now let us consider for a moment this assumption of Wallace's of a further power, a deeper influence, to which he

attributes these male secondary characteristics which he does not hold sexual selection to be adequate to originate or intensify; and if we can get some hint of the nature or mode of that power, we may get nearer the understanding of the nature of sex, if not of variation. This theorist, then, assumes, in order to explain the superabundant ornamentation of male forms, an innate tendency in the male as opposed to the female nature, to the expression of vital energy in complexity of structure and coloration, rather than in nutrition of tissue and increase of bulk. Now Wallace did not invent this idea—it is the expression of the thoughts of many biologists. We shall note later how Professor Geddes has especially explained and elaborated the idea; but you will observe that such an agency is entirely independent of any form of natural selection; it infers a tendency to variation in the organism itself, quite apart from external conditions. Extended and applied to both sexes, it indeed accounts for the origin of all variation; and a school of scientists has arisen, principally in America, who do so apply it. These Neo-Lamarckians postulate, as an inherent attribute of the original protoplasm, the capability of, and tendency to, organic variation—and here I beg your careful attention, as we have a most important distinction to consider.

To suppose, as some have done, that protoplasm, which is as far as we know at present the primary vehicle of life, to suppose that in this substance resides a force, a force potential and inherent, which quite independently of the environment continually arranges itself in positions of ever increasing complexity—that is a conception purely theoretical, and one which is incapable of proof as of disproof, because all life is bounded and involved in an ever-changing environment, and we can hardly conceive, much less demonstrate, vital action as independent of that environment. A

view perhaps more in harmony with nature as we know her is that the organism, or the protoplasm which forms the organism, changes in its constitution or in the mode of its development only in response to changes in the environment—that is, that if genesis had proceeded as it were in vacuo, no changes would ever have arisen. In this way the vital element is comparable to some highly complex and unstable chemical compound, and its processes can almost be spoken of in mechanical terms, although by forming such a conception we do not get one inch nearer the central insoluble mystery of the vital force itself.

What, however, we are now concerned about is the manifestation of that force, and it is well that we should thoroughly understand and clearly discriminate between these opposing views of the protoplasmic potentiality; nor need we assume that when Wallace and others speak of the male nature finding expression in elaboration of form and colour, that there is any inference of spontaneity in the process, but simply that the vital energy of the male reacts on certain stimuli more by elaboration of form than the female nature does, nor is that explanation any less sound because we may not be able exactly to define and demonstrate what those stimuli may be.

But such considerations as these lead us to further speculation as to what the real meaning of sexuality is, and what is that inherent difference in individuals which makes for sex. Tracing then the stream of life backwards to its source, we find in the lowest place, far down at the junction of the two great organic kingdoms of animal and vegetable—*Amœba* and the *Monads*. These forms show none of that differentiation of cells into body or somatic and reproductive or genetic which obtains throughout all higher natures, here we have no sexual difference at all, every part of the body serves equally well for all functions, and sex has

not indeed yet begun. But very early in the scale we can distinctly distinguish a difference, a difference between the few reproductive or germ cells and the great mass of other cells which go to build up the various tissues of the body, which waste away and are constantly renewed; but besides this difference between germ and body cells, we have a still further difference in the character of the germ cells themselves, there are large quiescent cells well stored with nutriment, which we call ova, and their possessors, females; for after we reach a certain height in the scale of life, we find that only one kind of these germ cells is possessed by one individual, and there are other minute active cells, which we call spermatozoa, and their possessors males.

Now in the characteristics of these two sorts of cells do some physiologists, and more particularly Professor Geddes, find the fundamental distinctive nature of sex. In scientific terms femaleness is anabolic, maleness is katabolic. We understand in physics the difference between static and active force, the stretched bowstring static, the flying arrow active. A similar difference in the character of the vital energy we are told makes for femaleness or for maleness. That is to say, both natures are endued with similar vital energy, but one kind, which we name female, becomes stored up in nutriment, and remains more passive; the other, which we call male, expends itself in external manifestations, and is more active. Hence this theory explains why the female in most cases is larger than the male, duller, more quiescent, and because she has a larger stock of reserve force to draw upon, almost always longer lived, and conversely why the male is usually more active, stronger, and endued with a greater power of brain and muscle; and also, according to Wallace, why he is given to an excessive display of bright coloration and complex structure. Furthermore, we have here some suggestion of the factors that go to

determine sex in the embryo. It seems in the first stage the embryo is sexless, or, perhaps, more accurately, hermaphrodite, having indeed the elements of both sexes, but that the tone or state of the constitution of the mother at some particular point determines which principle shall survive and which become obsolete, and that if the maternal tendency at that point is more anabolic, that is nutrition in excess of expenditure of energy, then the embryo will retain the female characters, or if katabolic, or expenditure in excess of nutrition, then the male quality will remain predominant in the offspring. Some evidence which appears rather to bear out the correctness of this theory has been adduced in the case of tadpoles, assumed to be undifferentiated embryos, which by being fed on highly nutritious substances resulted in a large and unusual preponderance of female frogs; and also in the case of some lepidopterous larvæ, which by semi-starvation were induced to emerge with a large male majority; that is to say, greater nutrition makes for femaleness, less nutrition for maleness. These views or theories of Professor Geddes meet with by no means universal acceptance among biologists, nor do they seem to help us much in explaining initial variation; but it seems probable, as we shall see further on, that the phenomenon of variation is in some way intimately connected with that of sexuality and sexual reproduction, and it is certain that a clear apprehension of the latter must aid us in our attempt to elucidate the obscurities of the former. To make this clear, we have only to consider how in nearly all animals and plants, which have a differentiation of cells at all, reproduction can only take place by a fusion of these two elements or energies which we call sexual in one cell. Why that should be we do not know; we can speak of that fusion in terms of physics, or in terms of chemistry; but we get no nearer the understanding of the matter, if we did, we should perhaps

hold in our hands the master key of the house of life. This, however, is evident, that the variation of which we are enquiring the origin only comes about through sexual reproduction. There is, of course, reproduction which is not sexual, such as gemmation, but this is only a simple division of the parent, and could not in itself be the cause of variation. Parthenogenesis, again, may be perhaps considered as forming an exception to the necessity for the fusion of two diverse elements in one cell for genetic reproduction. Parthenogenesis is, however, usually only partial or periodic. Fertilization takes place at intervals or there is some kind of alternation of generation; the explanation seems to be either that fertilization when it does occur is sufficient to influence not only the immediate individual, but a series of yet unborn ones, or else that parthenogenesis is really a kind of self-fertilizable hermaphroditism. Its methods certainly seem to bear out Professor Geddes' views, thus the autumn parthenogenetic eggs of aphides, and the unfertilized eggs of bees result in males, and these occur when nutrition in the mothers is at a low ebb. True hermaphroditism is quite distinct. Of course it is common enough in plant life, but it is confined to the lower classes of animals, although frequent among some of them, such as vermes. Still here we must have true fertilization for reproduction, and, although both elements are present in one individual, there must still be a union of two distinct individuals to ensure it.

And now, having slightly indicated the chief phenomena of sexuality, let us recur to our main line of thought, and consider more closely those of variation and heredity, for you will observe one involves the other; to understand departure from type we must be prepared with some theory of adherence to it. Why should the offspring resemble the parents at all. The fact of heredity imposes on us

by its very familiarity, and blinds us to the underlying mystery of it.

Now Darwin saw clearly the need of some feasible theory of inheritance, and he thought out an hypothesis which he called Pangenesis.

Let us picture to ourselves some simple organism built up of innumerable cells, diverse in material, size, shape, and function. Now the assumption is that every cell in this organism gives off during its development a succession of gemmules, or buds, or atoms, which course about through the system of the organism, and in some way, the exact method of which is unknown, all these atoms become segregated and condensed as it were into the germ cell, whether ovum or spermatozoon. Now, when a new organism comes into existence, each of these gemmules originates a cell similar to that whence it was derived. Thus the offspring resembles the parent, and any change in any part of the parent causes through these gemmules a similar departure from type in the offspring. So far it seems simple enough, but there are two corollaries which we must understand in order to get a true view of this theory.

In the first place, this does not explain the *sequence* of growth, it throws no light on the fact that the organism follows an undeviating course of development, and that certain of these gemmules must only come into play at a certain time and under fixed limits. Hence we have the additional idea of elective affinities among the gemmules; thus each one or each group of them can only be stimulated into development by the antecedent growth of certain others which normally precede them in time and in relative position; thus the buds of the cells of the antlers of the stag can only be set going, as it were, by the development to a certain point of the cells of the skull of the animal, one special set of cells having an elective affinity with another

special set, and with none others. That is the explanation of growth.

But so far there seems no reason why the offspring should not be an exact duplicate of the parent in asexual or a mean of both forms and none others in sexual reproduction, and we have that awkward fact of reversion or atavism to get over, cases in which the offspring resembles neither parent, but throws back to some departed ancestor. To account for this we have to suppose that some of these gemmules, in fact an indefinite number, remain dormant in the germ and in the system of the resultant generation, and so get carried over perhaps several individuals, and then owing to some stimulus which we do not understand, suddenly start into activity, and reappear as cell formation further down in the line of descent. Thus we have each cell of the whole body continually giving off buds, these course about the whole system and inform every part of it, they collect in the germ and produce a new organism built up in the order of their affinities, most of them active, give rise to cells which reproduce the parent form exactly—hence heredity—some latent do not appear perhaps for generations—hence variety—such is the theory of Pangenesis.

We must admit that this hypothesis explains a great number of the facts of the problem, we can also understand by its help how a new tail grows on a lizard, or a new claw on a crab, when the original members have suffered amputation, for the representatives of all the cells of these lost limbs are transfused all through the body, and when the original set of cells are lost these set to work to renew them in the old individual as they would originate them in a new one. So too can an entire plant be propagated from a small cutting because representatives of the total cell formation of the plant are circulating in the sap of the

utmost twig. There are other phenomena which might be provisionally explained by Pangenesis. Let us however rather turn to a consideration of the difficulties and objections we meet with on a closer examination of its processes.

And the first and most obvious of these is a mechanical one. In every organism there are millions upon millions of cells, millions die away and are lost, millions more take their place, all through the life of the being there is a constant succession of cell formation, but each cell must have its gemmule or rather its series of gemmules, and they must all find their way somehow into every ovum and every spermatozoon, besides which there are the dormant gemmules of generations back to be added. Now a codfish may have over four millions of ova, therefore it is rather a heavy demand upon our powers of imagination to ask us to see in each of these ova, buds or gemmules, representing every cell which developes in the whole ontogeny of the fish, to say nothing of dormant gemmules. The spermatozoic cells are utterly innumerable, beyond comprehension infinite, and yet we must imagine the same of those. Here we seem to be getting near the limits of the possible divisibility of organic matter, for each of these gemmules must be a highly complex compound, not like the simple atoms of elementary substances.

But to pass to another difficulty. This theory does not appear at all to explain the necessity or desirability of sexual reproduction, or at any rate does not give that method the importance it evidently requires. Observe, both sexes possess these gemmules, but asexual reproduction shows that both are not necessarily and invariably required. What advantage then is derivable from the amphigenetic method; for advantage there must be, otherwise a process which reduces by one half the potentiality of a community

for reproduction could not have become general. Possibly fusion of the gemmules may increase the resultant vitality, for we must imagine the gemmules of corresponding cells in the parents to fuse or coalesce, and result in only one cell in the offspring, otherwise the latter would be equal to the sum of the two parents in bulk, but if they do so coalesce, why is not the offspring the exact mean of the parents? in nature a quite exceptional result, what decides the preponderance of parental characteristics, and brings about the inequality which we always see? But if the idea is that the gemmules are antagonistic and of each corresponding pair one absorbs or neutralizes the other, and so ensures the supremacy in the embryo, again we may enquire what principle governs these survivals, and wherein does the organism, as a whole, benefit by the process? In truth the more we consider sexual reproduction as explained by the gemmule theory, the more do we become involved in obscurities and complications.

But again consider the course of embryonic development. The gemmules, with which the fertilized ovum is crowded, start into activity according to their several affinities, but they seem all equal in power and importance. Why then should those buds, which represent the latest added characters, which are always the most subject to variation, why should these be so much more unstable than those buds which decide the more fundamental structures. It might perhaps be replied: because there are more dormant gemmules of the later added characters, and these thrust on one side and supplant the places of what we may call the normal gemmules; then there must be some form of competition between dormant and normal gemmules, but if so, what laws govern, what principles affect such competition? We can obtain no clear answer from the theory of Pangenesis.

It seems to me that in this conception of his, Darwin hardly brought into sufficient prominence those most significant suggestions which his own theory of evolution derived from embryology. I mean that the ontogeny or *development of the species* invariably roughly recapitulates the phylogeny or *development of the race*. Many stages are of course abbreviated or omitted, but the general sequence is the same, and the idea seems obvious, that the same inherent power, whatever it may be, which in response to a series of external stimuli, carried the original amœbic protoplasm up to the most complex organism through the long course of secular change in the race; that same influence orders the procession of development in the protoplasm of the germ, and builds up the fabric of the individual. If we can get hold of this idea, although it may seem more abstract and even more metaphysical, it may perhaps involve us in fewer complications and contradictions than the cumbersome scheme of gemmules with polarities and mutual affinities and repulsions.

But now, having thus far considered Pangenesis, let us turn to that other theory of vitality called the *Continuity of the germ plasma*, with which Professor Weissmann of Friborg has supplanted it. The fundamental idea is expressed in its name. The continuity from one generation to another of identical germ plasma—not germ cells—but the substance which forms the nuclei of those cells. Thus we do away with gemmules of all sorts, and instead, imagine the ovum and spermatozoon filled with a very complex substance, a plasma, and the great point our theorist insists upon is that when the embryo develops from the germ, not all of this plasma is used up in forming the somatic cells, that is the body, but that a minute fraction passes over, unchanged, into the succeeding germ cells, and indeed permeates most of the body cells also. This undifferentiated

plasma is the bearer of hereditary tendencies, and thus are they transmitted.

Now here we get some glimpse of a credible theory of heredity at any rate. We are still as much in the dark as ever as to how it can be that certain molecules of matter, which we call protoplasm, can extend themselves into certain complicated forms in unvarying sequence: but we can see that the properties of that matter, whatever they may be, must be transferred with the matter itself, and thus similar organisms arise like beads strung on the same string of vitality.

An acceptance of the theory will also enable us to understand how it is that acquired characteristics which affect the body only, and not the germ cells, cannot be transmitted. How it may be, to take an example, that the feet of Chinese girl babies are as perfectly formed as those of English children, although for countless ages they have been mutilated in the adult mothers. It being thus apparent how the continuity of the germ necessitates a continuity and similarity of organism, the question may well be asked—whence arises variation at all? And this question Professor Weissmann answers by pointing to the fact of reproduction from two individuals, from the result of mixing or crossing two separate lines of descent. His idea is that in every case of sexual reproduction there is not only a mixing but a combination, similar in nature to the combinations of chemistry, of the plasmas derived through two different sets of ancestors, and that thus the distinctive qualities of these two streams are brought into play in differing degrees of influence. The conception may be possibly difficult to follow as it is purely hypothetical, but it has been well illustrated by the idea of a kaleidoscope. In that toy the same identical pieces of glass are there always, yet a new pattern is produced by each turn of the tube. Thus the fragments of glass represent the

various ancestral germs united in each of the parents, the turning the act of fertilization, and the new pattern which results is equivalent to the new organism, differing as it does slightly from either or from both parents.

But furthermore, Weissmann has ventured on a still more theoretical and debateable origin of variation. He supposes that as the locality of this highly complex germ plasma is limited to the nuclei of the germ cells, it would be impossible for a representative part, however small, of all the ancestral branches and components of that plasma to be contained there, in addition to the corresponding series furnished by the sperm cell at fertilization, and so each ovum ejects a part of its own contents before receiving the plasma of the sperm. This phenomenon is known as the extrusion of the Polar bodies; it has always been a puzzle to biologists, and it seems very far from certain whether Weissmann has found its true significance. He asserts that whatever may have been its origin it leads to variation in this way, that as the plasma of the ovum is made up of numberless ancestral plasmas in definite combination, so its constitution after this division or expulsion cannot be exactly equivalent to its constitution prior to that event—thus, to recur to our kaleidoscope—if you abstract at random half the fragments of glass, the proportion of colours and disposition of pattern is extremely unlikely to be the same as before, and if you add another half taken from another kaleidoscope the dissimilarity cannot but be intensified. Thus, then, we get some hint as to how variation may arise and has arisen from the complications and elaborations of some primitive differentiation of the protoplasm, but it seems still left unexplained how that original differentiation arose. You can clearly see that no amount of crossing, and dividing, and uniting again could have had any effect in elaboration unless there had first been some difference to work upon in the material, for

the assumption which underlies the theory rigidly bars any supposition of differentiation being brought about by any action of the body cells in the germ. To put it in another way, unless the bits of glass in our kaleidoscope had *originally* differing colours and shapes no amount of turning could have produced any variation of pattern. Now here I cannot help thinking that Weissmann's theory is hardly clear or satisfactory enough. So far as I have been able to gather from his published writings, Weissmann, to discover the original *terminus a quo*, gets back to unicellular organisms, and there, of course, as there is no differentiation between germ and somatic cells, any modification made in the body could not fail to be inherited as inheritance simply means division of the original matter. Besides this originating cause however, he also admits that in multicellular organisms the plasma of the germ will respond by modification to such changes in the environment as of temperature and nutrition, and that there are disturbing agents, diseases such as tuberculosis, syphilis, or insanity, which seem to vitiate and affect the germ cells within and through the body, as such diseases are undoubtedly inheritable. Still leaving out the effect of disease, which can scarcely be regarded as a normal method of modification, we seem to be thrown back on, first, the original modifications of the unicellular protozoa, which indeed, could not have been very complex in so simple an organism, and secondly, to causes which act on the germ plasma and in some way modify it from without, and of these Weissmann seems to recognise temperature and nutrition as the most important, although the curious case of the transformation of the crustacean *Artemia salina* into *Branchipus stagnalis*, if authenticated, seems to show that the chemical composition of the environment has an extraordinary influence in modification; and for me it certainly is difficult to suppose that from such limited causes as these

any amount of elaboration could have evolved so complicated a result. When we consider the infinite diversity of nature, nay more, when we contemplate one single organism and think of the infinite variety of its cells, their diverse functions, and especially those which discharge their function in what we call instinct and mind, it certainly does require a powerful imagination to conceive how a differentiation so stupendous could possibly be the outcome of variation in a medium so remote and so restricted as the primitive unicellular form of life afforded, or such as could have been induced by changes in temperature or nutrition since that form of life terminated.

In attributing to Professor Weissmann the conception of this idea, I must not be supposed to ignore Professor Galton's share in the matter, who, I think, in 1876, promulgated a doctrine of heredity which appears to differ very little from Professor Weissmann's. Galton conceives what he calls a continuous stirp, corresponding with the Weissmann plasma, which is passed on from one generation to another, and which is not reacted upon by the parental somatic cells. Galton, however, accepts the idea of gemmules or cell buds, but he seems to use them more as explanatory of the machinery of cell growth in the individual, than of heredity, as Darwin's Pangenesis does.

I might also refer to the theory of heredity enunciated by Professor Brooks, of Baltimore, which seems some modification of Pangenesis, but my purpose is more to contrast these two most distinct and mutually incompatible theories of Darwin and Weissmann without confusing the issue with an account of other subsidiary ones. Recurring then once more to the latter of these, I must admit that its acceptance, even as explanatory merely of heredity, is not without its difficulties. It seems to require some effort to quite grasp the idea that acquired variation is not, and cannot be, in-

heritable. Cases are continually occurring which seem to prove the contrary, many of them are treated at great length by Weissmann, and the Professor has exerted all his ingenuity and elaboration of argument to explain on other grounds than those of inheritance these singular cases. He has also furnished experimental data, and pits his fully tailed young white mice, the healthy offspring of mice deprived of tails, against Dr. Brown Sequard's epileptic guinea pigs, the unfortunate progeny of parents whose sciatic nerves had been severed. The arguments by which Weissmann disposes of these wretched animals, and other cases, are too long and too recondite to reproduce here. To prove a negative is proverbially difficult, and to say that this great German biologist has proved his position, has placed this theory of his beyond cavil and beyond question, is a statement which no scientific man would admit. Still, as a working theory, as it is called, it may be very useful, and to show how clearly some of the complex phenomena of life may be by its means explained, let us have recourse to a concrete case. Let us consider a cote of pigeons, let us stock the cote with specimens of the most extreme breeds known to the fancy, let us have fantails, pouters, tumblers, homers, and all the rest. Now let us leave our pigeons entirely to themselves to interbreed and cross as they list. The result as a matter of fact will be a bird not in the least specialized as were its ancestors, but a simple blue rock pigeon, such as we imagine was the derivation of all our numerous breeds. But what has then become of the tail feathers of the fantail, the crop of the pouter, and the peculiar instincts of carrier and tumbler. Let us consider the case by the light of this theory of Heredity. We recognise in the first place that each original pigeon possesses in its germ cells, not a multitude of antagonistic and conflicting gemmules, but a plasma or substance derived

through an indefinite line of ancestors, containing, indeed, remnants of the very substance which formed those ancestors, but which, by recent and careful mixture in crossing, has been compelled to express more prominently certain characteristics potential in it from the beginning. Those characteristics are, of course, the specialization which we call fancy. Now when two of these highly but diversely specialized breeds cross—say, a tumbler and a homer—as both possess a predominance of the same ancestral plasma, although each a different phase of it, that predominance must be intensified in the progeny. And thus in time we may expect to see the relatively simple ancestral plasma manifest itself at the expense of the individual or racial mode of it, that which is special to each being neutralized and overcome by that which is common to all, and the result should therefore be a retrogression to a point whence divergence started, and to an ancestral form whence all were derived. And such, indeed, we discover to be the case, and find our theoretical conclusions agree with our experimental result.

Of course in this experiment we must understand that the restrictive influence of natural selection is entirely removed, and we must also assume that no form of sexual selection operates, which influences would vitiate the simplicity of our process.

From this illustration I trust you will be able to appreciate more readily the bearings of this notable theory. The central underlying idea, you must ever remember, is the *continuity* from one generation to another of this mystic plasma of the germ which, as a never-failing river of life, moves onward in labyrinthine streams of being all through nature, and as the temporary expressions of whose power all organic forms become manifest.

And in surveying the line of thought we have followed this evening, we see side issues innumerable arise and lure us

to further speculation, for life is, perhaps, the most wonderful, the most inexplicable of the phenomena of the universe ; and when we have examined all these theories of its manifestation most critically, we cannot but feel that the prime mystery of life eludes us still. We may see its processes placed on a quasi-mechanical basis, it may be vaguely hinted that in organic chemistry we can trace the dim analogies of the changes that take place in the plasma and originate its modifications, but we are still as ignorant as ever of the real nature of the difference between organic and inorganic, define it as we may and wrap it up in phrases never so carefully. What *is* this mysterious life-bearing protoplasm ? this strange combination of a few simple elements which, having its origin, whence and how we know not, far back in the shadowy depths of time, has flowed in continuous streams of being through all the ages, ever more elaborate, ever more complex, till, greatest mystery of all, it has acquired consciousness, and to-night enables me to speak and you to listen. Comprehension falls back defeated here, we strive ever in vain to conceive of the manner in which such infinite potentiality can exist in any form of matter, and shrink confused from the abyss of the unthinkable. All we are certain of is of our own ignorance, all we know is that there is that cannot be known. So does the infinite surround us mortals on every side, and terminate every avenue of physical investigation. Here and there we penetrate that circumscribing darkness with some small ray of knowledge, laboriously acquired, and diligently treasured ; and one generation hands on the lamp of truth, or what we take for truth, to the next, and peers a little further into the darkness, and makes good a little further of the road ; but we know that beyond lies the infinite ocean of the unknowable, and that there is a point beyond which the finite mind of man sinks impotent as the waxen wings of Icarus.

AN ESTIMATE OF MARLOWE.

By EDWARD R. RUSSELL.

IN a brief and little read tragedy, by a too little read author, an attempt is made to give a moral estimate of Christopher Marlowe, of whom less is known than of almost any author even of the Elizabethan age. It is an attempt characterised by that sublime charity of the imagination which can create a soul of virtue beneath ribs of moral death. The writer, Richard Hengist Horne, adopts one of the stories of Marlowe's death, but reads into its cause a story of very beautiful love sentiment. Marlowe is killed by a low and foul-mouthed ruffian, out of jealousy. Unused to the tender passion, he is observed by his companions to be deeply enamoured of a woman whom they suppose to be unworthy. She has, indeed, been of evil life. But "to me," says Marlowe, "she's chaste." And chaste she has come to be, in heart as well as in fact. Such wooing as there is in the brief drama is very beautiful, and the power of the language put into Marlowe's lips is curiously Marlowesque, while the sentiment and *morale* are quite of another character and time. With very exquisite feeling the woman is represented balancing in a pensive mind the possibility of the new pure love relations which are offered to her. Marlowe, as becomes him, balances nothing, persuaded that his great love and the "world of hopes" he has conceived "about that woman" are the essential prize of his being. When his Cecilia is away from him "his life is leafless," "his strength seems melted, his breast vacant," "and in his

brain he hears the sound of a retiring sea." At the last, when, in a quarrel forced upon him by a tavern bully, he had received his death-wound, he imagines his love "a sweet saint sent to save him." He has seen her just before, as she passed by the tavern, and she promised him "one good night ere she slept." But he is slain while she is away. When she returns, she exclaims in her agony—

All's over now—there's nothing in the world—
For he who raised my heart up from the dust
And showed me noble lights in my own soul,
Has fled my gratitude and growing love—
I never knew how deep it was till now.

Oh! gentlemen, pray for me. I have been
Lifted in heavenly air—and suddenly
The arm that placed me, and with strength sustained me,
Is snatched up starward: I can neither follow,
Nor can I touch the gross earth any more.

She sinks down upon Marlowe's body, and Middleton, the dramatist, his friend, as he gazes at them, says—words appropriated by Horne from Kit Marlowe's epilogue to *Faust*—

Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,
And burned is Apollo's laurel bough.

I have drawn this much from a purely fictitious treatment of Marlowe's character because it seems to mark in a lively manner the distinction between what in his writings he was, and what from those writings a gracious modern mind is tempted to think he must have been. A man such as Richard Hengist Horne, steeped and saturated in what is best of the Victorian spirit, as I will venture to call it, cannot quite understand a mind morally so stunted, limited, and comparatively organless as Marlowe's in association with such magnificent literary power. And so, half in incredulity

as to the possible existence of such a mind, half for the pleasure of creating a Marlowe endowed with a distincter moral sense, he writes a play in which is told a tale of rare spiritual beauty such as a Marlowe could neither have enacted nor enjoyed.

Now observe: no one has done such a thing—no great man is likely to attempt such a thing—for Shakspeare. They may tell us as much as they please of the vulgarity of Shakspeare's pleasures and of the coarseness of his life-ending: none of us would think of extending the limits of his nature. We know that he had a soul that made all moral being its province. He had but to take up his pen and on that noble pinion he could soar or dive or float or roam, whither his fancy pleased him; with no hindrance because of his vesture of clay, with no disability because of any shortcoming in moral experience, with no possibility of imperfect sympathy with any type of humanity.

About Marlowe as a writer the truth is well condensed by Hazlitt in the following sentences:—"There is a lust of power in his writings, a hunger and thirst after unrighteousness, a glow of the imagination unhallowed by anything but its own energies. His thoughts burn within him, like a furnace with bickering flames, or throwing out black smoke and mists that hide the dawn of genius, or, like a poisonous mineral corrode the heart." Whatever qualification of this is necessary will appear in the sequel.

Swinburne, amidst a great deal of hyperbolic eulogy, says very aptly that Marlowe

First gave our song a sound that matched our sea.

Henry Irving when unveiling, in September last, the new Marlowe monument at Canterbury, said of him that he was the first to employ with a master hand the greatest

instrument of our language, namely, blank verse: a clear and effective echo of much good criticism. Marlowe's power as a writer of blank verse was so unprecedented that, vast as is Shakspeare's superiority over him, we have a feeling that but for Marlowe, Shakspeare might never have existed. "It was Marlowe," it has been said, "who first wielded the harmonies of the great organ of blank verse, which were to peal through the ages in the music of Shakspeare."

One distinctive characteristic of Marlowe by which this great effect was produced upon his contemporaries was an easy power and free pomp, of which it is easy to give unconnected examples.

From his first play, for instance, "Tamburlaine the Great:" "Our life is frail, and we may die to-day." Every one feels spontaneously the ease and fluent majesty of expression by which this line is distinguished.

Not all the gold in India's wealthy arms
Shall buy the meanest soldier in my train.

Here is a happy description, having the same stamp of fluent, rhythmic emphasis:—

And Christian merchants that with Russian stems
Plough up huge furrows in the Caspian sea.

Take the following from "The Jew of Malta":

A fair young maid, scarce fourteen years of age,
The sweetest flower in Cytherea's field,
Cropt from the pleasures of the earth
And strangely metamorphosed to a nun.

Or this, from a soliloquy of Barabbas about his daughter, in the same play:—

Oh! thou that with the fiery pillar led'st
The sons of Israel through the dismal shades,

Light Abraham's offspring; and direct the hand
 Of Abigail this night; or let the day
 Turn to eternal darkness after this!
 No sleep can fasten on my watchful eyes
 Nor quiet enter my distempered thoughts,
 Till I have answer of my Abigail.

* * * * *

For whilst I live, here lives my soul's sole hope,
 And when I die here shall my spirit walk.

There is not much thought in this, and there is some childishness, but there is a remarkable capacity of expression. And all these three observations apply yet more particularly to the following curious passage from "Tamburlaine," in which a Persian captain suggests an infantile plan to catch the Tartars:—

Then noble soldiers, to entrap these thieves,
 If wealth or riches may prevail with them,
 We'll have our camels laden all with gold,
 Which you that be but common soldiers
 Shall fling in every corner of the field;
 And while the base-born Tartars take it up,
 You, fighting more for honour than for gold,
 Shall massacre these greedy minded slaves;
 And when their scattered army is subdued,
 And you march on their slaughtered carcasses.
 Share equally the gold that bought their lives,
 And live like gentlemen in Persia.

One does not see why such rubbish should be put into verse, but if it was to be it could not have been better or more naturally done.

Another taste of this crude but generous vintage—also from "Tamburlaine":—

A god is not as glorious as a king.
 I think the pleasures they enjoy in heaven
 Cannot compare with kingly joys on earth—

To wear a crown enchased with pearl and gold
 Whose virtues carry with it life and death;
 To ask and have, command and be obeyed;
 When looks breed love with looks to gain the prize,
 Such power attractive shines in princes' eyes.

Childish in thought; virile in execution.

Often there is in Marlowe's dialogue a brag and bounce which in almost any other author would be caricature:

Puissant, renowned and mighty Tamburlaine,
 Why stay we thus prolonging of their lives?

The humour in "Tamburlaine" mainly consists in that Scythian conqueror causing Bajazeth to kneel down and be his footstool; in Bajazeth being confined in a cage; and in other conquered sovereigns being literally bitted, bridled, and harnessed, and made to drag Tamburlaine about. And the female scenes, in which the women of the conqueror crow over and hyperbolically browbeat the women of the conquered, is equally coarse and offensive. The literary degradation of a large proportion of Marlowe's work must be seen in his text to be believed. It is not without power, and occasionally there is a remorseless dramatic stroke in which we feel the thong of a mighty scourger, as for instance in "Edward the Second," where young Mortimer, sending off the king to Berkeley, instructs those who are taking him to

Speak curstly to him; and in any case
 Let no man comfort him if he chance to weep,
 But amplify his grief with bitter words.

"Shoot at him all at once," says Tamburlaine, in one place.

So now he hangs like Bagdet's governor,
 Having as many bullets in his flesh
 As there be breaches in her battered wall.

Barabbas, in the "Jew of Malta," hopes to see his Christian enemies starve—

Or else be gathered for in our synagogue,
That when the offering basin comes to me,
Even for charity I may spit into 't.

But in this play almost everything is coarse: thought, incident, characters. Scarcely anything redeems it but the single element of rough power in the handling, and the illustration it gives of a certain hold obtained on the mind of the time by Macchiavelli, whose unscrupulous political theories seem to have had a fascination for many minds as possible rules for selfish and villainous private conduct. One of the incidents of the "Jew of Malta"—and a pivot of the plot—is the standing up of the body of a mendicant monk who has just been strangled. When the Jew's servant has accomplished this feat, he says, "So, let him lean upon his staff: excellent, he stands as if he were begging of bacon." In Spenser's "Faery Queen" a giant is put dead upon his horse with his severed head attached again to his body; but somehow the finer fancy and the chaster treatment make the effect very different.

Of the passionate grandiose figures with which Marlowe's fancy teemed the following lines afford other examples. In the "Massacre of Paris" Guise exclaims—and this is a really powerful passage—

Give me a look, that, when I bend the brows,
Pale death may walk in furrows of my face;
A hand that with a grasp may gripe the world.

Xenocrate says of Tamburlaine that he "sleeps every night with conquests on his brows." This also is rather fine. But the following is more in Marlowe's way. Tamburlaine is trying the spirit of his young sons:

In a field whose superficialities
 Is covered with a liquid purple veil
 And sprinkled with the brains of slaughtered men,
 My royal chair of state shall be advanced,
 And he that means to place himself therein,
 Must armed wade up to the chin in blood.

The mother remonstrates, but one of the boys says :

No, madam, these are speeches fit for us,
 For if his chair were in a sea of blood
 I would prepare a ship and sail to it,
 Ere I would lose the title of a king.

Bajazeth is cursing from his cage Tamburlaine and his guests as they eat. If criticism is worth while on such a character, it may be remarked that it is felt all through how much truer and more forcible the action would be if Bajazeth submitted to the extraordinary indignities to which he is subjected in grave and lofty silence. But this is how he raves :

Ye furies that can mask invisible,
 Dive to the bottom of Anernus' pool,
 And in your hands bring hellish poison up,
 And squeeze it in the cup of Tamburlaine!
 Or, wingèd snakes of Lema, cast your stings,
 And leave your venoms in the tyrant's dish.

Often Marlowe staggers you with a doubt as to whether he is great or only extravagant. Thus, for instance, over the body of a prostrate enemy, Sigismund :

Now shall his barbarous body be a prey
 To beasts and fowls, and all the winds that breathe
 Through shady leaves of every senseless tree
 Murmurs and hisses for his heinous sin.

At the poet's very worst he can be as frothy and pre-

posteriorous as in the speech: "Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia," ranted when Tamburlaine is driving the kings of Trebizond and Soria with bits in their mouths; and in the speech in the same second part, beginning, "See where my slave, the ugly monster death, Shaking and quivering, pale and wan with fear, Stands aiming at me with his murderous dart."

Of the childish element, combined always with most masculine power of expression, and resulting in a strange infant Hercules mixture of strength and folly, a good instance is afforded by the pedantic sovereign Mycetes, who, at a point in "Tamburlaine," is discovered near a scene of battle, striving to secrete the crown. He pronounces accursed those who invented war, and remarks:

They knew not, ah they knew not, simple men,
How those were hit with pelting cannon shot,
Stand staggering like a quivering aspen leaf
Fearing the force of Boreas' boisterous blasts.

Then his fatuity leads him to rejoice in being superior to such rash ignorance:

In what a lamentable case were I
If nature had not given me wisdom's lore;
For kings are clouts that every man shoots at,
Our crown the pin that thousands seek to cleave
Therefore in policy I think it good
To hide it close;

That is, the actual crown—

A goodly stratagem,
And far from any man that is a fool:
So shall I not be known; or if I be,
They cannot take away my crown from me.
Here I will hide it in this simple hole.

Tamburlaine comes along, bullies him, scorns to seize the crown, "lends it to him" until he shall "see him hemmed with armed men." When Tamburlaine has departed, Mycetes, the king, exclaims :

O gods! Is this Tamburlaine the thief?
I marvel much he stole it not away.

As a picture of congenital idiocy this might pass. But the mind travels towards Shakspeare and his "top and round of sovereignty" in "Macbeth," and to the fine scene in which the actual crown plays so great a part, where Harry of Monmouth places it on his head by the bed-side of his father, who he thinks is dead. The difference is wonderful between contemporaries. Not that anybody could be expected to be a Shakspeare; but that it seems impossible that such almost always adult work as Shakspeare's could be produced in an age when the infant prodigy work of Marlowe sufficed to bring popularity. We are told that this is "art in the making" and that art in the making is a passion of our time. I prefer art that is made, and am glad that it got made so soon after Marlowe had given the impetus of an example in powerful, easy, blank verse expression; devoid as he was of the right imagination and the conceptive gift to use his skill with classic effect.

Only for certain exceptional passages, or for general, rude, full-blooded, rhythmical vehemence can moderns admire him.

This is a good couplet. Callapine, King of Amasia, is speaking of an enemy :

Yet when the pride of Cynthia is at full
She wanes again : and so shall his, I trust.

The following is a striking description of the mob :

As for the multitude, they are but sparks,
Raked up in embers of their poverty.

Marlowe anticipated the Suez Canal. "Here," says Tamburlaine—

And here, not far from Alexandria,
Whereas the Terrene and the Red Sea meet,
Being distant less than full a hundred leagues,
I meant to cut a channel to them both,
That men might quickly sail to India.

Sometimes the poet's epithets are intensely happy. In one case he speaks of "working words" and certainly his own have plenty of work in them. By contrast he describes a condition of mind as "attemptless, faint and destitute."

The following is an eloquent piece :

The griefs of private men are soon allayed,
But not of Kings. The forest deer, being struck,
Runs to an herb that closeth up the wounds ;
But when the imperial lion's flesh is gored,
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw, :
And highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air.

Perhaps the lines most sympathetic to modern feeling are those in which we find a true eloquence of the affections. Xenocrate is described thus :

Whose eyes are brighter than the lamps of Heaven,
And speech more pleasant than sweet harmony.

And of the same lady one of her attendants says :

'Tis more than pity such a heavenly face
Should by heart's sorrow wax so wan and pale.

Don Lodowick in "The Jew of Malta"—

Rather let the brightsome heavens be dim,
And nature's beauty choke with stifling clouds,
Than my fair Abigail should frown on me.

Gaveston in "Edward II"—

The sight of London to my exiled eyes
Is as Elysium to a new come soul.

King Edward says to his favourite—

Kind words and mutual talk makes our grief greater,
Therefore with dumb embracement let us part.

King Edward again:

Courageous Lancaster, embrace thy King;
And, as gross vapours perish by the sun,
Even so let hatred with thy sovereign's smile.

Deep pathos is rare in Marlowe, but there is an instance when the fugitive King Edward is talking to the monk at Neath:

Good father, on thy lap,
Lay I this head, laden with mickle care.
Oh! might I never ope these eyes again!
Never again lift up this drooping head!
Oh! never more lift up this dying heart!

Subtlety is almost as rare as pathos; but Marlowe has some remarkable examples of it. One is humorous. It is in the first Sestiad of Hero and Leander. Leander seeks to persuade Hero that maidenhood

Compared with marriage, had you tried them both,
Differ as much as wine and water doth.

And this leads him to a quaint discussion of one form of virtue :

Of that which hath no being do not boast
Things that are not at all are never lost.

The instance in which subtlety has led Marlowe nearest to the charm which it produces for us in poetry which is modern either actually or in spirit, is found most unexpectedly and inconsistently in a very fine and quite incongruous speech of the bombastic and bellicose ruffian Tamburlaine. His theme is that beauty is never entirely describable :

If all the pens that ever poets held
Had fed the feeling of their masters' thoughts,
And every sweetness that inspired their hearts,
Their minds, and muses on admired themes ;
If all the heavenly quintessence they still
From their immortal flowers of poesy,
Wherein, as in a mirror, we perceive
The highest reaches of a human wit ;
If these had made one poem's period,
And all combined in beauty's worthiness,
Yet should there hover in their restless heads
One thought, one grace, one wonder at the least,
Which into words no virtue can digest.

This is perhaps the one case in which there is any suggestion in Marlowe of that happy floating away on the pen-pinion into a bright expanse of thought which seemed, with Shakspeare, the common form of his literary being.

As a rule, Marlowe is curiously uninterested in moral questions. Let us notice a few exceptions. Tamburlaine, of all men, denounces the cruelty of the Algerian pirates. In the second part of "Tamburlaine," Sigismund, the King

of Hungary, makes an eloquent and cogent argument in favour of keeping faith with infidels notwithstanding their treachery. "Our faiths," says he,

Are sound, and must be consummate,
Religious, righteous, and inviolate.

When Tamburlaine is about to die, and his son is reluctant to face the thought of succeeding him, the soldier-monarch thus admonishes him :

Let not thy love exceed thine honour, son ;
Nor bar thy mind that magnanimity
That nobly must admit necessity.

In the "Tragical History of Dr. Faustus," Mephistophilis surprises us in the midst of all the poor and barren mediæval materialism of the play with a very spiritual conception of hell. Faust asks him how it is that he is out of hell. Mephistophilis answers :

Why this is hell, nor am I out of it :
Thinks't thou that I who saw the face of God,
And tasted the eternal joys of Heaven
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells
In being deprived of everlasting bliss ?
O, Faustus, leave these frivolous demands
Which strike a terror to my fainting soul.

And again :

To conclude when all the world dissolves,
And every creature shall be purified,
All places shall be hell that is not Heaven.

Marlowe was called an atheist, but it would seem from this that he had a better theology than some who called him so. And the following lines of "Hero and Leander" live to attest his tenderness of heart :—

In gentle breasts
Relenting thoughts, remorse and pity rests;
And who have hard hearts and obdurate minds,
But vicious, hare-brained and illiterate hinds?

It must be admitted, though, that the utmost amount of moral and spiritual observation or cognizance that can be collected from his works is infinitesimal considering the extent of his writings and the vigour of mind which appears upon the surface of them. The translation from Ovid is obscene—as obscene as the original.

I think I have thus enumerated the general characteristics of Marlowe's writing. Virility, vigour, fluency; a barbaric ruggedness which is not always affluent, a rugged affluence which is not always barbaric; a rough and ready, loud, bold interestingness that never falls away; hyperbole to the verge and often over the verge of caricature; extreme poverty of intellectual and spiritual significance; an abounding rattle, and drum-beating, and trumpet-sounding, all about the outsides of things; no insight into or divining of profound character; no profundity of any kind; but a strepitose wealth of language, a grandiose force of description, a cornucopia of stage eloquence which probably first taught English poets what they might hope to do in securing the attention of the common people for great themes. And to this must be added the unsurpassed lyrical gift of the poet who wrote "Come live with me and be my love," and the exquisite erotic art of the genius that told the story of Hero and Leander.

I now propose to pass the most notable works of Marlowe very briefly in review, requesting you to bear in mind the rough estimate I have made of his general qualities, and to understand that I now apply to the separate pieces my humble judgment of their positive worth.

The positive worth of the two "Tamburlaines" is almost *nil*. You may love a piece of old literature because it is archaic, because its style is a link in the chain of literary progress, or because it is good in itself. Only as a link in the making of English literary art can one be even interested in "Tamburlaine." The ideas are bald, the incidents are brutal, the treatment ludicrous, the character superficial. Two things stand out favourably—the absolute faithfulness of all Tamburlaine's adherents and the curiously delicate fidelity of Tamburlaine to Xenocrate. Apart from these two elements and a fine passage or two, the grossness of the fabric would exclude it from civilised literature but for the abounding power of expression—the astonishing *mitrail-leuse*-like volleying forth of fit and forceful and rhythmical language—to which reference has so often to be made in assigning Marlowe his historical place in the wonderful Elizabethan progress of English writing.

"The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus" is more interesting to us because it comes into distant comparison with Goethe; but of course Marlowe suffers enormously by comparison with Goethe's modern and truly Shakspearian work. One can well understand, however, what a tremendous problem the devil and Dr. Faustus must have been to a young writer of five and twenty, who addressed himself to the task of making a drama of it without any better precedent than a doggerel ballad. Hallam pronounces the hero a rude sketch but a gigantic one. One must tell the truth at whatever expense of modesty, and I am bound to say that I do not feel this except in the closing scene. The same fine critic defines the character as "a personification of the pride of will and eagerness of curiosity sublimed beyond the reach of fear and remorse." This is so, no doubt, but the subliming does not produce much sublimity. The work is here not merely poor but nonsensical and grotesque. Mephistophilis is no sar-

castic, mocking, denying spirit. He is a preaching devil, and at the same time a tempting devil. His preaching is so plain that it ought to foil his temptation ; his temptation is so unsubtle and half-hearted that it ought not to interfere with his preaching. This may be more orthodox than Goethe, but it is neither poetry nor tragedy. It leads us to a comparison of Marlowe's religious work with Shakspeare's. The talk during his life-time of his being an atheist probably arose from his being free of speech in such matters. He had probably thought more of religion than Shakspeare did ; and less : more in the way of argument and rejection of dogma and spurning of religious influence ; less in sympathy and in dramatic expatiation ; not at all in that filling out of the character from within by spiritual motive operating at the very core of the being, which was one of the greatest natural processes of Shakspeare's genius. Hence the trying barrenness of Marlowe's Faust. Hence the whole world of difference between his Barabbas and Shakspeare's Shylock.

The two passages of the "Faustus" in which Marlowe is great are the address to Helen of Troy and the thrilling and horrifying declamation of Faust when he is about to be dragged down to perdition. Than the first no grander love appeal was ever composed :

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium ?
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss.
Her lips suck forth my soul. See where it flies !
Come Helen, come, give me my soul again.
Here will I dwell, for Heaven is in these lips,
And all is dross that is not Helena.
I will be Paris, and for love of thee,
Instead of Troy, shall Wurtemberg be sacked :
And I will combat with weak Menelaus
And wear thy colours on my plumèd crest :
Yea I will wound Achilles in the heel,

And then return to Helen for a kiss.
 Oh! thou art fairer than the evening air
 Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars;
 Brighter are thou than flaming Jupiter
 When he appeared to hapless Semele:
 More lovely than the monarch of the sky
 In wanton Arethusa's azured arms,
 And none but thou shalt be my paramour.

I can neither quote nor describe the death scene. It is too "horrible and heartrending" for recital. Alike in its giant conceptions of the fate of a lost soul according to the common theology, in its ear-piercing and heart-piercing supplications for a mercy foredoomed to be denied, and in the startling outburst of personal agonised realism, such as "I'll burn my books," it is a phantasmagoria of horror such as in this passionate vein literature cannot parallel. Faust "leaps up to his God" and shrieks "Who pulls me down?" He "sees where Christ's blood streams in the firmament."

One drop would save my soul—half a drop: ah! my Christ!
 Ah! rend not my soul for naming of my Christ!
 Yet will I call on him.

He prays to have a thousand years of torture, or even a hundred thousand, if only there could be some end. Would that Pythagoras were true. Then

This soul shall fly from me and I be changed
 Unto some brutish beast! all beasts are happy.

* * * * *

Oh! soul be changed into little water drops,
 And fall into the ocean—ne'er be found.

At length the end comes with a fearful suddenness and an

affrighted outbreak into abject ejaculations of frenzied pleading :

Ugly Hell, gape not ! come not, Lucifer !

I'll burn my books ! Ah ! Mephistophilis.

And the devils carry him swiftly away. The scene is colossal to read. In an age when it could possibly be acted it must have been tremendous to behold.

"The Jew of Malta" is introduced by a significant speech, by way of prologue, delivered by Machiavel. As mentioned above, this writer had obtained a great hold upon the literary mind of the day : not that he was admired or followed ; but he was regarded as a sort of portent, or as an incarnation, so to speak, of a new sort of wickedness ; just as nowadays many of us put down to materialism any unusual abundance of reckless sin that we think we observe. In the course of his speech, which is supposed, besides touching on international politics, to give the keynote of the Jew of Malta's character, Machiavel says :

I count religion but an idle toy,

And hold there is no sin but ignorance.

You have only to consider how utterly inappropriate such a motto would be for Shylock, to realise the essential difference between Shakspeare's and Marlowe's work. But there are fine passages in the Shylock vein. One, for instance, in the first act, in a very lordly manner, sums up the wealthiness of the Jews over Europe, and compares their position, persecuted as they are, with that of such Christians as are in poverty.

Rather had I, a Jew, be hated thus,

Than pitied in a Christian poverty.

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They say we are a scattered nation :
I cannot tell, but we have scrambled up
More wealth by far than those that brag of faith.

It is a curious shrewd touch of character when Barabbas is told, when he has been despoiled, to remember Job. His way of looking at things is thus :

I had at home and in my argosy,
And other ships that came from Egypt last,
As much as would have bought his beasts and him
And yet have kept enough to live upon.

Here are some fine lines, in which we read the utmost strength of a sordid character. His brother Jews have been giving him some rather canting sympathy : or he thinks it so. "Ay, fare you well," says Barabbas :

See the simplicity of these base slaves,
Who, for the villains have no wit themselves,
Think me to be a senseless lump of clay
That will with every water wash to dirt :
No, Barabbas is born to better chance,
And framed of finer mould than common men,
That measure naught but by the present time.
A reaching thought will search his deepest wits,
And cast with cunning for the time to come :
For evils are apt to happen every day.

In dealing with evil exigencies, this Barabbas betrays a much lower nature than Shylock. In other words, Marlowe's genius did not bring the character into a Shakspearian focus. Shylock would never have consented to Jessica's becoming a nun. Barabbas deliberately sends his Abigail to a nunnery to further one of his schemes. The Jew's grief afterwards is but a mere poor suggestion of what Shakspeare was to make of Shylock's misery. As a display

of natural feeling it is naught. There is rough dramatic effect in some dealings Barabbas has with the monks, but Marlowe had no warning sense of the ridiculous. Crime is piled on crime and catastrophe on catastrophe in the grossest manner. Only, always we have the compensation of strong, lucid, emphatic diction, teaching us how easy and perfect an instrument language is—at all events for saying plain things. For instance, by various absurd arts and expedients, Barabbas the Jew becomes Governor of Malta. But he is too shrewd to retain the position :

I now am Governor of Malta ; true,
 But Malta hates me, and in hating me,
 My life's in danger, and what boots it thee,
 Poor Barabbas, to be the governor
 Whereas thy life shall be at their command ;
 No, Barabbas, this must be looked into,
 And since by wrong thou got'st authority,
 Maintain it bravely by firm policy.
 At least unprofitably lose it not :
 For he that liveth in authority
 And neither gets him friends nor fills his bags,
 Lives like the ass that Æsop speaketh of,
 That labours with a load of bread and wine,
 And leaves it off to snap on thistle-tops :
 But Barabbas will be more circumspect,
 Begin betimes ; occasion's bald behind,
 Slip not thine opportunity, for fear too late
 Thou seek'st for much but cannot compass it.

Shakspeare is seldom so lucid as this ; but then, thank heaven, Shakspeare has always much better things to say ; and it is a heresy of mine, as some think, that much lucidity in literature is associated with uninterestingness and unpregnancy in what is said. A certain number of fine simple massive things have been said, such as " God is love " and " Sweet are the uses of adversity " ; and great genius

may even add to these. But as life becomes more complicated, and the convolutions of thought, as of the brain, are multiplied, it becomes at once less easy, less worth while, less desirable, to be absolutely and at the first glance of every common mind transparent.

It is worthy of notice that a line in the "Jew of Malta" was probably the germ of Marlowe's celebrated and very beautiful lyric, which some would rather have written than all the rest of his works. The line occurs in a fine speech incongruously put in the mouth of an oriental slave of Barabbas, a tool in most of his fantastic villainies. Bellamira, a courtesan, proposes to marry him. He says:—

Content, but we will leave this paltry land,
And sail from hence to Greece, to lovely Greece.
I'll be thy Jason, thou my golden fleece;
Where painted carpets o'er the meads are hurled,
And Bacchus vineyards overspread the world;
Where woods and forests go in goodly green,
I'll be Adonis, thou shalt be Love's Queen.
The meads, the orchards, and the primrose lanes,
Instead of reeds and sedge, bear sugar canes.
Thou in those groves by Dis above,
Shalt live with me and be my love.

Of the beauty of the song "Come live with me and be my love" not a word need be said. It is its own best pœan. But we must admit that an exquisite offspring of genius was never conceived even in the Greek mythology among prettier surroundings.

"Edward the Second" is a strong picture of royal weakness, and perhaps a unique dramatic picture of the best and worst sides of royal favouritism. With scarcely any of Shakspeare's modelling and moulding power, it has much general suggestion of the greater dramatist's historical manner. A fault is that so little is revealed of the Queen's

love of Mortimer. She is as puzzling on Marlowe's page as a woman similarly loving would be likely to be in real life. It is a delicate art in a fine dramatist to maintain the inscrutable but to let you see behind it. Of this art Marlowe has none. He casually lifts the veil at the point which is convenient to him, and the Queen's passion yields neither the excitement of surprise nor the interest of incident and analysis. There are fine morsels in the play. One of the finest is the King's melancholy reply when he is told he must go to Berkeley Castle :

Whither you will: all places are alike,
And every earth is fit for burial.

Passing over the play of "The Massacre of Paris" notable as the first dramatic treatment of contemporary history, and "The Tragedy of Dido" which is not very notable for anything except for being fluently Virgilesque, with occasional splashes of rough-cast Marlowism, I come to "Hero and Leander," which is a more finished and intellectual piece than any other of the author's works. It has been truly said by Mr. Bullen that the clear, rich, fervent notes of this poem have been heard but once. Mr. Swinburne says that "it stands out alone amid all the wild and poetic wealth of its teeming and turbulent age, as might a small shrine of Parian sculpture amid the rank splendour of a tropic jungle."

Only the first two of the six Sestiads are by Marlowe ; but the continuation by Chapman, though of very inferior and also of most unequal beauty are well worth reading. Although it has nothing to do with our subject, I should like to invite lovers of intellectual subtlety to study and enjoy lines 187 to 217 in the Fourth Sestiad. Marlowe could no more have written this passage than he could have anticipated George Meredith, but they are a curious illustration of

Matthew Arnold's definition of poetry as criticism on conduct.

Marlowe's fragment ends quite early in the Sestian story. This is one of his descriptions of Hero :

Some say for her the fairest Cupid pined,
And, looking in her face, was stricken blind.
But this is true: So like was one the other,
As he imagined Hero was his mother.

And oftentime into her bosom flew,
About her naked neck his bare arms threw.
And laid his childish head upon her breast,
And with still panting rock, there took his rest.

As to Leander there is this daring lunar conceit :—

Fair Cynthia wished her arms might be her sphere ;
Grief makes her pale because she moves not there.

Three lines on the pangs of rejected lovers :—

And some, their violent passion to assuage,
Compile sharp satire, but alas ! too late !
For faithful love will never turn to hate.

One line of the following couplet was borrowed by Shakspeare :—

Where both deliberate the love is slight :
Who ever loved that loved not at first sight ?

Leander is in the temple of Venus, but it is Hero the Vestal that is in his thoughts—

He kneel'd ; but unto her devoutly prayed.
Chaste Hero to herself thus softly said,
" Were I the saint he worships I would hear him."

Again—

He touched her hand; in touching it she trembled :
 Love deeply grounded hardly is dissembled.
 These lovers paled by the touch of hands.
 True love is mute and oft amazed stands.

These words of the lover to Hero have in them a true pathos of desire:—

O! shun me not but hear me ere you go!
 God knows I cannot force love, as you do.

Another striking line is this:—

Love always makes those eloquent that have it.

But in the case of this poem, as nowhere else in Marlowe, it is the beautiful fabric rather than the brilliant patches that make it delightful. A good opinion seems to be that we have nothing like Hero and Leander till we come to Keats.

A very good piece of work, however, is his translation of the first book of Lucan. It contains many excellent dry apophthegms, some examples of brisk, strong narrative, and some passages, as the description of Pompey (lines 130 to 145), and an incidental four-line passage about rumour (465—8), rather like Browning when most plain and jogtrot. I could name passages in which there are momentary resemblances to Pope and to Byron.

And now to sum up. It has been remarked that “intellectual Marlowe scarcely was, and conspicuously intellectual he assuredly was not.” This is true in so far as we consider the character of his themes and of his treatment of them. So it might be said that he was not

conspicuously moral, and that he was not spiritual at all. But, all the same, he employed a powerful intellect, with unsurpassed originality, in an undertaking which was most successful, and which has led to vast intellectual results. Most likely without knowing what he was doing, and certainly with little other immediate net result than to produce a great deal of half ludicrous rant and fustian, the fury of which was excused for its noble sound, and atoned for by occasional passages of true excellence and beauty, Marlowe exemplified and brought into fashion a prowess in the employment of language in metre for which, but for him, English literature might have waited long.

Once or twice in criticism a single phrase has been achieved which for ever fixed and demonstrated the character of an author. Ben Jonson had the great distinction of doing this both for Marlowe and for Shakspeare. He spoke of Marlowe's "mighty line;" but he said of Shakspeare that he was "not of an age, but for all time."

THE RELIGION OF THE EDDAS AND SAGAS.

BY THE REV. J. SEPTON, M.A.

THERE is an oft quoted passage of Tacitus, the Roman historian, which will appropriately introduce my subject. Speaking of the German tribes of his time, he says: "In their ancient poems, the only memorial records they have of the past, they celebrate their God Tuisco, who sprung from the earth, and his son Mannus, as the two founders of their race." Similar poems doubtless existed, not only among the German tribes that bordered on the Roman empire, but among all the kindred tribes, Goths, Angles, Saxons, and Danes, that stretched their boundaries northwards and eastwards to the limits of the Finnic tribes. The form in which the old northern poems have been preserved dates probably from the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ. Though this date comes at a long interval after Tacitus, who lived at the close of the first century, yet in these old poems we seem to have the direct descendants of those that were chanted through centuries, on the field of battle, in solemn religious services, at festive assemblies, and among the fireside gatherings in the long evenings of winter. In the fragmentary poems which remain to us, we seem to recognise the old songs that fed the warlike spirit of our ancestors, nourished their racial pride, instructed young and old in the wisdom of the past, and cultivated their reverence for the gods and the great men who had lived and died.

I used the phrase "fragmentary poems." Such a phrase is unfortunately too true. Our heathen ancestors, so far as

we can discover, did not commit their poems to writing, but handed them down from generation to generation by oral tradition. They had, it is true, a system of writing, doubtless very old, of which the characters were mostly debased forms of Latin and Greek letters imperfectly copied from the coins that were brought by traders and others among the northern peoples. But these Runic characters, as they are called, were not freely used as an art of writing. Appearing to the ignorant to possess a secret, and therefore supernatural power, they brought good or evil, as the case might be, to whatever was marked with them. Inscribed on talismans they preserved the bearer from evil. Then we find them upon works of art, cups, rings, swords, to designate the owner or the maker, or to bring good fortune to the possessor, and, finally, on grave-stones and monumental crosses. Of this latter use you have examples in the churchyards of the Isle of Man, where the inscriptions memorialise northern or heathen settlers, who became converted to the Celtic Christianity they found there. Thus the old heathen poems were never committed to writing in heathen times. And when Christianity overspread the north, and they naturally fell into disuse, they would probably have perished utterly if some Christian lover of antiquities had not hastened to collect them and preserve them in writing before they had dropped into oblivion.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, when Frederick the Third, King of Denmark, was engaged in forming the Royal Library of Copenhagen, an Icelandic bishop, Bishop Bryniolf, sent over to him as a present, among other similar treasures, an old smoke-begrimed manuscript of which the good bishop had been the possessor for about twenty years. This manuscript was the first appearance in the modern world of the Eddic songs. The language in which they were written was archaic and difficult

to understand. But the manuscript soon came to be recognised by the style of its writing as belonging to an early date in the thirteenth century, and much of the language as probably three or four hundred years earlier. About the same time other manuscripts containing other similar poems came to light, and the whole collection is now known as the Elder Edda or Poetic Edda. The Younger Edda or Prose Edda was known to scholars sixty years or more before the Poetic Edda. It consists of a paraphrase, made in the early part of the thirteenth century by Snorri, the historian, of some of the poems of the Elder Edda, and of similar old poems which are now lost. It is the prose paraphrase which is most widely known in this country as the Edda.

The two Eddas are the source of much of the knowledge we now have of the mythology of our heathen forefathers. But large additions have been made to our knowledge during the present century by researches into folk-lore, and by a critical examination of the historical records compiled by the chroniclers of the middle ages. For instance, Saxo, a Danish chronicler of the twelfth century, wrote a history in Latin of his countrymen the Danes, which is of great value to the mythological student. Saxo held a common theory of his time that the gods were simply great men of old whom an admiring posterity had endowed with divine honours. He has therefore related many of the old northern myths as if they were history, paraphrasing them and enlarging them according to his fancy. But his paraphrases, and those of other writers, are valuable because they throw light on the fragmentary and imperfect poems of the Poetic Edda, and have preserved many other myths derived from similar old poems which have disappeared for ever.

The cosmogony of the Edda is very primitive. The basis of the universe was conceived to be a fountain of boiling waters, from which flowed certain rivers. As these wandered

away from the central source they gradually lost their heat, and the rising vapour was frozen as they reached the colder regions. Here the accumulation of hoar frost and congealed vapour produced spontaneously a huge primitive giant, the first beginning of life. From him sprung other primitive giants, and these in process of time gave rise to Wodin, the All-father, and other gods. In the mutual wars of the giants the first primeval giant was slain, and from his body the gods formed the world, the heavens above the earth, and the regions beneath the earth. The surface of the earth, as pictured in the Eddas, was a vast plain of somewhat circular form, and high above it was placed Ansegarth, the abode of the gods. The communication with the earth was by means of an arch or bridge, Bilröst, which later traditions supposed to be the rainbow, but which was probably the Milky Way. The earth itself stretched downwards to unknown depths. In the regions below, towards the south, reached by one end of the heavenly bridge, lay the realms of Swart, the Fire giant, and his brood, who were destined in days to come to conquer the gods and burn up the earth with fire. At the northern end of the heavenly bridge dwelt those foes of earth and man, the Frost giants, against whom the gods, the beneficent protectors of earth, waged incessant war. Beneath the earth, and lying between the Frost giants to the north and the Fire giants to the south, were extensive regions where dwelt other primeval giant beings, not regarded as necessarily hostile to gods or men. Here was the well of wisdom and its guardian Mimir. And just as sap proceeding from the root pervades and nourishes the whole tree, so from Mimir's well proceeded the vivifying influence which nourished Yggdrasil, the great world-tree of gods and men. Here, too, was the Weird-fountain, by which dwelt the Norns or Fates, who weave the destiny of every man born into the world, and apportion him at his birth a lifelong

companion, his fetch, a guardian spirit to keep and protect him. Here dwelt also the giantess Hel, goddess of all these lower central regions, which include not only the blissful dwellings reserved for the righteous; but, deep down, nine times deep down, the lowest depths and dwellings reserved for the punishment of the wicked.

Though the earth is stationary, the starry heavens revolve in a constant circular motion. This motion the Northman conceived as being like that of the upper millstone around a central axis. It was produced by giant maidens at the bounding rim of the earth. Hence the well-known myth of the huge mill, which in the good old days ground peace and prosperity to man. Giant beings were also imagined as producing the tides, and as daily guiding the sun and the moon in their regular course.

The happy gods who dwelt in Ansegarth spent their time in feasting and gladness when not occupied in the welfare of the world. But the world needed their ceaseless activity. To people it, Wodin and his brother gods formed the first man and the first woman from lifeless tree-trunks, and gave them the "breath of life," "feeling," "utterance," and "comely hues." Then Wodin showed his great love for mankind, his creation, by descending, amid untold dangers from the giants, into the realms below, that he might bring up from Mimir's well the priceless gifts of wisdom and song for man. Thor, the Thunder god, armed with his weapon, the hammer, was perpetually on the watch against the Frost giants. Frey and his sister Freyja protected the fertile harvests of earth, Niord those of the sea. Tyr or Tuisco blessed the Tentons with victory against their foes. And Heimdall's services were needed both by gods and men, for he was ever on the watch at the foot of the heavenly bridge lest the giants should seize upon it. The artistic needs of the gods were served by a supernatural race of beings, the

dwarfs, who dwelt on the confines of earth. They constructed the glorious dwellings of the Anses, and made for them household utensils all of gold. They made the sun and moon, and the hammer, gloves, and belt of strength which Thor used in his contest with the giants. They were the creators of the mythical treasures of old, such as the spear that always brought victory; the gold ring from which dropped other gold rings every ninth night; and the ship that was ever blessed by fair winds. Then the whole universe for a time after the creation enjoyed peace and happiness in a golden age.

But soon evil began to show itself in the world, beginning among the gods themselves. One of their number, Loki, sprung, like Wodin, from the primeval giants, first raised a spirit of envious competition among the dwarfs as to their artistic merit; and when the gods were called in to arbitrate in the quarrel, their decision pleased neither group. Hence dissension and war among the gods themselves. Of this war their old foes the Frost giants took advantage, and for a time held possession of Frey and Freyja. When peace was made, Loki was banished from Ansegarth, and he and his evil progeny, the Wolf and the Serpent, now lie bound in prison. A final day, however, is approaching when they will burst their bonds, and, aided by the Fire giants, will wage war against the gods. Against that day Wodin is preparing himself. He has established a resting place by Ansegarth for all great warriors and those who die on the battlefield. In Walhalla they abide, waiting with him for the final conflict. That conflict is Ragnarök, the doom of the Gods, when evil will prevail.

Evil will prevail, but only for a time. The best of the gods will survive the Day of Doom; there will arise a new heavens and a new earth; and the human inhabitants of the new earth are now being prepared in the world below for

their bright future destiny. In her vision of the future, the Prophetess of the *Völuspá* sings:—"I see earth rise a second time, fresh and green out of the sea; The waters are falling, the Eagle is hovering over them, the bird that hunts fish upon the fells; The fields unsown shall yield their fruit; all evils shall be healed; yea, Balder shall come; Hoth and Balder re-people the blessed habitations of Wodin, the holy place of the High gods; The Anses meet, and declare their judgments under the mighty tree of the world; and there call to mind the weighty decrees and the ancient mysteries of the Great God."

This review of the Eddic cosmogony is necessarily brief. On close inspection we find much that is contradictory and inconsistent in it. This is due doubtless to the fact that the poems in which it is involved are of different ages. It is obvious, too, how much the system has in common with other early cosmogonic systems. The war between the gods and the giants, and the imagery of the Norns or Fates recall similar creations in classical mythology. There are many other such similarities; the Northman had his Cerberus, and his "Lethe, the river of oblivion;" and his heroes visited the abodes of the dead just like Ulysses and Æneas. Points of contact with Eastern systems are found, among others, in Heimdall, the Watchman of Heaven, and in the Holy Mead, which vivifies the world. Some of these coincidences seem to show that the Northman incorporated portions of the classical mythology into his own. Others it is not easy to explain except by supposing them to have had an origin anterior to the dispersion of the primitive Aryan-speaking race. Moreover, the later notion that Wodin, Thor, and Frey form a triad or Trinity superior to the other gods; the destruction of the world by fire; the picture of the new heavens and the new earth, must surely be derived from Christian sources. The imprisonment of Loki for a season;

his recovery of liberty, and the final conflict, recal the imagery of the book of the Revelation. And we may even believe that the myth of the descent of Wodin into the realms beneath, that he might bring up the waters of wisdom to man, is but a dim echo of the Christian truth that our Lord descended into hell, as part of his mission, to bring life and immortality to man. As for the Walhalla portion, which is the latest addition to the Northman's creed, it is not improbably a combined reflection from Islam and Christianity.

The most characteristic and the most striking of the Northern myths are those relating to the Frost giants. This is due, perhaps, to the conditions under which the Northman lived in his sub-arctic home: nature presented herself to him under the aspect of a constantly-recurring struggle, where the genial warmth and light of summer upon which the harvests and man's welfare depend, are opposed to the long, severe, killing frosts of winter. When the gods had their first war, and the Frost giants took advantage of the dissension, making prisoners of Frey and Freyja; this, doubtless, points to some fearful winter or succession of winters, followed by scanty harvests. Again, one of the oldest poems, the *Vafthrudnis-mál*, seems to connect the doom of the gods with a winter more terrible than has ever been known, rather than with fire; a prophecy, so to speak, of the next glacial period which is to come upon the earth. The beautiful myth of Balder, the Sun-god, who fell a victim to the treachery of Loki, seems to be a personification of the natural phenomenon in the North in which the sun disappears altogether from human sight for days and weeks together, and perpetual night prevails. When Sif, the wife of Thor, also through the treachery of Loki, lost her beautiful hair at the hands of the Frost giants, and Thor was appeased by the dwarfs making for her new hair of

gold, this must surely mean that Sif personifies vegetation, and that her golden hair is the annual harvest, renewed by the powers of nature.

The mental condition which produces such myths has been common apparently to large portions of the human race in early times. The conception of fixed controlling law in nature, which a knowledge of natural science is slowly begetting even in the dullest and most ignorant minds, seems totally absent in primitive man. He regards every natural phenomenon as produced by supernatural beings. His fancy peoples the universe with active intelligences superior in power to himself, subject to human passions, and clad in human form. Earth, sea, sun, moon, frost, heat, thunder, harvest,—are all viewed under a manifold personification, and nature's laws are the voluntary acts of an innumerable multitude of powerful beings of varying moral attributes. In this respect the old mythologies resemble one another, but, compared with the others, that of the Northman is fruitful in monsters, in grim and stern, yea, even loathsome imaginings. The Frost giants; the wolves that ever pursue the sun and moon in their courses to devour them, and will succeed in devouring them at Ragnarök; Loki's wolf-offspring, Fenrir, from whose eyes and nostrils flash fire, and who will in the end devour Wodin; the great serpent which embraces the whole earth in its coils, and is destined to vomit forth floods of poison and destroy Thor; the monster dog Garm, that will be the bane of Tyr; the Fire giants who will kill Frey; and above all, the horrid venomous snakes reserved in lowest dungeons for the punishment of the wicked. On the other hand, there is a total absence of the beautiful imaginings we find in classical mythology. There are no Graces, no Muses; and no fair, joyous nymphs to bless and adorn the life of woods, seas, or fountains. Surely, if we may judge by the mythology, life

must have appeared somewhat unlovely, even at its best, to the men of old in the regions of the North.

There are many references in the Eddic Poems and other early Northern literature to the practice and the power of witchcraft. By this power gods, giants, and men produced an illusive glamour to defend themselves against their foes. Of this kind was the defence of the Frost giants against Thor, who crossed the cold waters of the Arctic Sea to attack them in their icy home. When Thor imagined he was striking his hammer into the skull of a sleeping giant, he found, on the vanishing of the illusion, that he had only made a deep chasm in a huge rock. Among the Northmen witchcraft was used for good purposes as well as for bad ones, and both kinds were the fruit of knowledge. Wodin himself brought the good witchcraft from the well of Mimir, and taught it to mankind. This divine knowledge consisted in the use of words and Runic figures, endowed with a supernatural power to help men and women in the time of need. "Runes of Victory," says one of the old poems—the *Sigrdrifu-mál*—"thou must know if thou wilt have victory. Grave them on thy sword-hilt, some on the rims, some on the brands, and call twice on the god Tyr." Among such were—"Runes of ale," that would prevent poison in the ale-cup; "Runes of love," to preserve a man from the faithlessness of Delilah; "Runes of help," for women in time of need; "Runes of speech," all-powerful in quarrels and legal meetings; and many others. Evil witchcraft was a later growth, and it also had its origin among the giants. But as time advanced the gods themselves began to practise it. When Skirnir, the page of Frey, was sent to Giantland to entice the maiden Gertha to Ansegarth, he terrified her reluctance into submission by such wicked means. "Look on this blade," he said, "marked with characters. I will hew thy head from thy neck unless thou yieldest to me. I will touch thee with a magic wand

and subdue thee to my will. Thou shalt go where the sons of men shall never see thee. May (the magical characters) Maddener and Unrest bring upon thee tears and sorrow." It was the use of such weapons by the gods that demanded and brought swift retribution. Even the beneficent witchcraft was not brought to mankind without crime on the part of Wodin. In the *Hávamál*, speaking of his visit to obtain wisdom for men, and of the aid which a giant maiden, Gunfled, gave him, he is made to say: "Gunfled gave me to drink of the precious mead; I gave her back evil reward for her true heart." And if Wodin, doing evil that good may come, deserved the doom of Ragnarök, as the Northman believed, how much more the moral degradation of the rest, as shown by the practice of evil witchcraft.

There is considerable variety in the subjects of the Eddic Poems. There are the cosmogonic and prophetic; there are those which tell the adventures of the gods in an earnest spirit, and others in a spirit of low comedy. There are genealogical lays which tell the growth of the human race and the fates of the heroes of old; there is a large cycle centring round the famous treasure-hoards of the Nibelungs. Then, again, there is the *Hávamál* or lesson of the High One, which has been described as the Eddic Book of Proverbs. There is much worldly wisdom in such saws as the following:—

"Blessed is he who wins praise and the favour of men; for it is hard to win over men's hearts.

He that is never silent utters many idle words. A voluble tongue, unless it be bridled, will often talk a man into trouble.

A fool stares when in company, mutters to himself, sitting stock still; but if he gets a drink then straightway out comes his whole mind.

A simpleton thinks he shall live for ever if he keeps out

of battle ; but old age gives him no respite though the spears may.

No better baggage can a man bear on his way than wisdom ; no worse wallet can he carry than overmuch ale-drinking.

It is out of the way to go to an ill friend, even though he live on one's road ; but to a good friend there is a short cut, even though he live far away.

Hotter than fire for five days flares friendship between ill friends ; but when the sixth day comes it is slaked, and all friendliness cools down.

Brand kindles brand till it is burnt out ; fire is lit from fire. Through speech man becomes known to man, but becomes moody from reserve.

Fire is the goodliest thing the sons of men can have, and the sight of the sun, the enjoyment of good health, and a blameless life.

No man should blame another because of love ; a fair face often moves a wise man and fails to move a fool.

The man who will win a lady's love should speak fair, and offer gifts, and praise the fair one's form. He that woos will win.

Now will I speak out for I know well that men's mind towards women is treacherous : we speak most fair when we mean most false ; this beguiles their honesty.

No man is so good but there is a vice in him, nor so bad as to be good for nothing.

Middling wise should every man be, never over wise. The mind is most free from sorrow when a man knows not his fate beforehand.

A man should be a friend to his friend, and pay back gift with gift ; give back laughter for laughter, and lies for lies."

There is a famous poem, belonging quite to the last days

of heathendom, the Sona-Torrek, that is, the Sons' Dismal Wreck. An old Wicking, by name Egil, a great hero in his day, for he had fought by the side of the English king Athelstan at the battle of Brunanburh, settled down for his old age in the west of Iceland. There he lost both his two sons, the younger one by fever, the older and favourite one, by drowning. The double calamity well nigh broke his heart. He shut himself up in his room, and was only prevented from starving himself to death by the artifice of a loving daughter, who persuaded the old man to write a dirge upon his sons. Of this long and touching poem I will read a few lines:—"Rán," that is the giant-goddess of the sea, "Rán," he says, "has dealt roughly with me. I am bereft of my loving friends; the sea hath cut the bonds, the strong ties of my race, away from me. Behold, I said, shall I take up my cause against her and fight a wager of battle against Ocean's wife? But I felt that I had no strength to fight against the Destroyer of ships, for an old man's loneliness is evident to the eyes of all men. I know well that in my sight there was the promise of manliness in my son, if that young lime-tree had been allowed to grow till Wodin had gathered him. He held fast to his father's word and was a great support to my strength." Referring to his younger son, he says:—"Wodin, the Lord of the Ancient Mead, stands opposed to me in surly mood; I cannot hold my head, the chariot of my mind, upright; since the deadly fire of sickness took my son out of this world, whom I knew to be wary in keeping himself from blameworthy speech. I was friendly with Wodin, the King of Spears, and trusted in him, relying on the truce between us, till he, the Judge of Victory, broke friendship with me. Therefore I do not eagerly worship Wodin, the chief of the gods. Yet has he given me recompense of my wrongs if I count the good he has done me (as well as the evil), for he, the foe of the

wolf, has given me the blameless art of poetry and the gift of song, by which I may turn open foes into well-wishers."

These passages from the Sona-Torrek will, I think, strengthen the conviction that spiritually the Northman was a child, inclined to rebel against his gods as a savage might break his fetish if his prayers were not granted. He had a deeply religious nature, but his religiosity was that of primitive man everywhere. Its basis was a fear of the gods, higher powers who were able to injure him; whose favour was to be procured, and whose anger was to be deprecated, by offerings and sacrifices. Among such beings he numbered not merely the Anses, the gods of the mythology, but the Elves, the innumerable spirits of all the dead who had died before him. For the Northman did not believe that a single living creature is annihilated by death. He buried his dead close to his house in the nearest hill, and if he found no suitable hill near, he raised over them an artificial mound. Thenceforth they lived a new life in the hill; if they had been good in their previous life, they were now more powerful for the performance of good; if evil, far more powerful for the performance of evil than before. They still felt interest in human affairs, and thus enmities and friendships could be continued with those whom they had left behind in the world. They were not altogether invisible in their new homes. Persons endowed with what we now call "second sight" often saw them, engaged at their banquets or playing with the weapons that had been buried with them. Moreover the Elves could make themselves visible to whom they pleased; and they often appeared, especially in dreams, to warn those whom they loved of coming danger, or to guide them in critical moments. Both to the Elves and the Anses the Northman offered sacrifices. To the Elves these sacrifices were made upon

stone altars or cairns, erected on the top of funeral mounds or other high places; and this worship was probably of a patriarchal character, offered that is by the head of a family to the guardian spirits of the family. The worship of the Anses was more of a national or tribal character. For this purpose the country was divided into districts or parishes. Each district possessed a large temple, a sanctuary into which no weapon might be carried. The temple-priest was usually the head of the chief family of the district, and the office was hereditary in his family. The building was used for general worship, for legal purposes, and was the spot around which centred the political life of the district. Near it stood an altar for sacrifices. The temple-priest also presided over religious banquets in the temple, at which vows and solemn oaths were made, and toasts were drunk in honour of the gods. The eating of horseflesh was a part of the religious ceremony. It is not improbable that our modern abhorrence to use horseflesh as meat took its rise when Christianity revolted from this heathen custom. In addition to the worship at the district temples, there seems to have been a use made of portable shrines. Tacitus mentions that in his day it was customary to carry round a sort of tabernacle containing an image of one of the great deities. Wherever this tabernacle came offerings were made; the attendant priests were consulted about future events, and especially about the coming harvest. At the moment also of the introduction of Christianity in the north we find traces of this old custom. There is in the Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen a beautiful wagon in a very perfect state of preservation. It was dug out of one of the mosses in the country, and, from the religious emblems with which it is ornamented, it would appear to have been used originally for the purposes of a portable shrine. It is, however, very remarkable that in the oldest writings there is a

total absence of reference to any images of the gods in the temples.

There are many little stories in the Sagas which testify to the earnest and religious character of the Northman. There is one for example, told of two brothers, Ingolf and Hiorleif who went out to Iceland. Of the elder it is said, that he was very earnest in his worship, but not so the younger. Probably some knowledge of a purer faith had reached him. It befel the two brothers to be separated on their voyage. Hiorleif, who had several Irish thralls, reached land and set up house, but his thralls, seeing, as they thought, a prospect of freedom, murdered their master. When Ingolf heard of his death, he exclaimed "that was a mean end to befall a brave man, slain by thralls; but such a lot will happen to a man when he will not worship the gods." Of Thorkell Máni, who was the Speaker of the Icelandic Althing, or House of Parliament, A.D. 970-985, it is said, that he had the noblest character man could remember of any who held the old religion. In his last sickness he caused himself to be taken out of house and placed in the sunshine; and there he committed himself into the hand of the god who had created the sun. Of this man the old chronicler says that he lived a life as pure as the best of Christians. I can well believe that one portion of the old faith, the worship of the departed dead, exercised a powerful influence for good. The proximity of the dead would have a sanctifying influence on the living, produce in them an aversion to what was shameful, and prevent many an ignoble act. When the pure light of Christianity spread over the North, the two parts of the Northman's faith, his worship of the Elves, and his worship of the Anses, with the belief in witchcraft, met with different fates. Faith in ancestral spirits was necessarily condemned by the early Christian preachers. "How could the dead who had never been

baptized," said they, "help Christian men." The proper persons to give spiritual aid to man were the departed army of Christ's confessors and martyrs. Thus the Invocation of Saints in the North took the place of the worship of the Elves. These, ceasing to be worshipped, did not all at once cease to be feared; their hostility, however, was harmless to those who were under the protection of Christian Saints. So the Elves gradually came to be regarded as neutral beings, an object of pity to the Christian, because they were supposed to be excluded from the full enjoyment of eternal life in Paradise. The Anses met with far different treatment at the hands of the Christian preachers. They were declared to be the servants of the arch-fiend Satan, sent forth by him into the world to lead men astray, to the utter destruction of body and soul; and whatever power they possessed, had been delegated to them by the Evil one. Were not the immoral acts attributed to them the proof of their fatherhood? Whoever, therefore, resorted to them for aid, and had dealings with them by means of witchcraft, merited death in this life, and everlasting death hereafter. But Christianity had not an easy struggle with the obstinacy of the Northman. When hard pressed, he would accept Christ without abandoning Thor. To him, the gentleness of Christ appeared a mark of weakness. It is said of Helgi, one of the Icelandic settlers in the early days of Christianity, that his faith was of a mixed character. He believed in Christ, but whenever he went to sea or was in difficulties, he called upon Thor. It was only by degrees that the sweet influences of Christianity prevailed, and even now in backward districts, here and elsewhere in the North, abundant relics of the old faith may be found in such superstitions as the belief in dreams and ghosts, in divining rods, witchcraft, and fortune telling.

- Among the religious customs of the Northman must be

included the occasional practice of human sacrifices. Whenever these took place the victim was usually a criminal; but not always. On one occasion, at least, when a series of exceptionally bad harvests demanded an exceptional remedy, a tribe is said to have sacrificed its king. Just previous to the acceptance of Christianity in Norway there occurs a last instance, though doubt has been thrown upon its historic accuracy. Earl Hakon the Bad, when ruler over Norway, was attacked by a great organised expedition of the Wickings of Yóm. The battle between them was fought in a bay of one of the islands of Sonnmøre, at the close of the tenth century. As the fight was going against the Earl, he landed on one of the neighbouring islands, and there sacrificed his youngest son, who was seven years of age, to Thorgerd, the "Lady of the Howes," probably one of the ancestral spirits, and tutelary guardian, of his family. This sacrifice turned the tide of victory in favour of the Earl. A terrific hailstorm, in the face of which his foes had to fight, helped to complete their discomfiture; and the terrified Wickings saw, amid vivid flashes of lightning, the giant figure of the goddess in the heavens, and from the ends of her fingers proceeded streams of hailstones which killed every man they struck. This invasion and defeat of the Wickings are matters of history, though there is some doubt as to the period of the Earl's rule in which they occurred. But we must remember that the sagas, as they have come down to us, if they were not originally written by clerics or monks, were revised and re-written by them. Earl Hakon was the last royal upholder of heathenism in Norway, and was firmly supported by his own people, the Thronds, the strongest of the old races, until his tyranny alienated them. To the monkish chronicler there was no heathen practice which was not consonant to the character of the bad Earl, and every discreditable tradition about him would find a ready accept-

ance. But the mere existence of the tradition is perhaps evidence that the rare practice of human sacrifice was not unknown to the Northman even down to the tenth century. He certainly upheld the social institution of slavery, and was not averse to the slave-trade any more than were his descendants in Wirral and West Derby down to the present century. Another mark of the sternness of his character was the practice of exposing newborn children, which was his way of obviating the increase of population beyond the means of subsistence. Of his vices, the chief was much ale drinking, which, however, was not attended by so much quarrelling as we should have expected. Perhaps his ale was deficient in strength. Unchastity he regarded as a very venial sin. But he had his virtues. He was frank, and just, and law-abiding, as firm in respecting the rights of others as he was in upholding his own. He took great delight in a pungent lampoon, but he hated the traitor, the truce-breaker, the doer of wanton cruelty, and called him a Nithing. With him, killing a man was not murder, and the distinction he drew was characteristic of him. To kill a man, and at once give public notice of the deed, was manslaughter, and might be atoned for by a money payment if the slain man's relatives agreed to accept wergild. To kill a man and hide the deed was murder, a crime never to be forgiven. Historians have often remarked upon the regard paid to woman in the days of chivalry. Much of that regard seems to me to have had its origin with the Northman. In no other semi-civilized country does woman seem to have been honoured, esteemed, and consulted like an equal, as she was in the heathen north. The institution of marriage among the upper classes was not unequal and unfavourable to the woman. The bridegroom paid down a sum of money or its equivalent for his wife; and to this was added a corresponding dower on her part from her relatives. The two sums together became the marriage settlement of the wife, and

though committed to the hands of the husband for safe use and investment, he could be compelled by law to refund it if the marriage was followed by divorce. Divorce was just as easily obtained by the woman as by the man. Doubtless this honourable position of woman was partly due to her own cleverness, prudence, and wordly wisdom. Partly, perhaps, to her bodily strength, for we not infrequently find specimens of the species "virago" in the Sagas. The Northman was not unmindful of the poor, and he was specially kind to his horses and his dogs, though one of his most famous sports was horse-fighting. In his treatment of the dead he was guided by the *Sigrdrifu-mál*. "Care thou for corpses," it bade him, "wherever on earth thou findest them, be they sick-dead, or sea-dead, or weapon-dead. Make a bath for the departed man. Wash his hands and head. Comb him and dry him, ere he be put in his coffin, and bid him sleep sweetly."

Such was the Northman, hard and stern in disposition ; never bending the knee either to God or man ; a true child of Nature and of the wintry home in which she moulded him. His faith was like himself, hard and stern, rudimentary and childish, suited to his simple nature and his simple needs. The ethics of the *Hávamál* are not Christian, neither is Christian resignation seen in the *Sona-Torrek* ; but the Northman's faith taught him to distinguish, dimly maybe, right from wrong. It taught him reverence for the gods, consideration for the rights of others, truthfulness. It led him to hate cowardice under every form. May we not regard it as the divinely appointed means to lead him from barbarism to civilization, giving him in each stage of the progress the faith and moral light needed to guide his conduct ? It thus served its day and generation, and when its work was done it died away in the presence of the purer faith and gentler influences of Christianity, as the light of a twinkling star fades away in the blaze of the rising sun.

THOUGHT TRANSFERENCE:
AN APPLICATION OF MODERN THOUGHT TO
ANCIENT SUPERSTITIONS.

BY PROFESSOR OLIVER LODGE, F.R.S.

THE progress of science may be likened to the ascent of a mist-covered mountain, of unknown and perhaps infinite height, up the sides of which we are slowly and laboriously groping our way, making our access as secure and permanent as we can; in some parts, indeed, constructing a good broad road. The clouds are very dense ahead of us, though there are legends of their having broken at times and let a nimble-footed traveller rush on far ahead. And such a one has sometimes blazed the trees or painted the rocks as he went, hoping thereby to assist us in following him; but we feel no security as to his destination, and distrust his marks. As scientific workers, we know no better nor safer plan, in the long run, than to map out our own slow route, ignoring all previous tracks, and making sure of the ground we have already covered by continually crossing and recrossing it in all directions.

The slope is not always ascending—there may be level tracts occasionally; sometimes we have actually to descend, in order to cross some stream or other depression. Not every knoll, again, lies on the direct route to the summit, but the clouds are so thick that the only way to detect the character of each minor hill-top is to explore it. Some choose one route and some another, and the multifarious cries resounding on all sides, as to the most advantageous path, are often perplexing.

Whenever the land in front of us seems to descend, the outcry is especially noisy; and yet such minor descents may be really an effective way of ultimately gaining the summit.

Down such a depression of scepticism, we of the middle of the nineteenth century have confessedly gone, though there are not wanting signs that we have touched bottom, and that the ascent on the other side is already beginning—though some there are so pleased with the ease of the descent, that they apparently hope it may last.

If this is indeed a real route to some of the higher peaks, a large number of camp-followers must similarly make the descent, and it will probably be for them a far more wholesome discipline, and lead more directly to ultimate progress, than standing still on points of vantage already attained, and being therewith content.

The knolls, or minor elevations, are crowded with satisfied people, who glory in their little achievements, and perceive not that to make progress they must partially descend. An era of doubt is essential. Doubt is the condition of a durable faith.

Those who have gone groping onward, and apparently downward, are already, it may be, higher than those left on the knolls; but vision is impossible through the mist, and shouting is very misleading, so they will not believe but that the temporary descent is leading the reckless and advancing spirits into some fearful abyss.

The shoutings are called a conflict of science and religion, and are given other sounding titles, but they do not amount to much on either side. The best plan is not to waste breath in shouting, but to forge on ahead, and try to make a decent road, or even a bridge, for the weaker brethren. Not that I would deny the existence of real chasms and crevasses, which some care is needed to avoid. The subject I have elected to speak on this evening is a rugged and difficult

cliff, with chasms lying all about its foot, strewed with the bones of explorers, and by many persons thought to lie off the track of profitable advance. By others it is thought to be crowned by a plateau of amazing extent and fertility, richer than anything we have yet attained, and well worth the labour and danger of ascent.

How much truth there is in either of these opinions I have no means of deciding. Every person engaged in the quest of truth must trust his instinct and ascend the elevations that come in his way.

It is unwise to turn your back on any real rise of ground, for you thereby run the risk of wilfully losing your way. Every path must be explored in the interest of truth.

By thought transference I mean a possible communication between mind and mind, by means other than any of the known organs of sense: what I may call a sympathetic connection between mind and mind; using the term mind in a vague and popular sense, without strict definition. Now, what do I mean by sympathetic connection? Take some examples:—

A pair of iron levers, one on the ground, the other some hundred yards away on a post, are often seen to be sympathetically connected; for when a railway official hauls one of them through a certain angle the distant lever or semaphore-arm revolves through a similar angle. The disturbance has travelled from one to the other through a very obvious medium of communication—viz., an iron wire or rope.

The pulling of a knob, followed by the ringing of a bell, is a similar process, and the transmission of the impulse in either of these cases is commonly considered simple and mechanical. It is not so simple as we think; for concerning cohesion we are exceedingly ignorant, and why one end

of a stick moves when the other end is touched no one at present is able clearly to tell us.

Consider, now, a couple of tuning forks, or precisely similar musical instruments, isolated from each other and from other bodies, suspended in air, let us say. Sound one of them and the other responds—*i.e.*, begins to emit the same note. This is known in acoustics as sympathetic resonance; and again a disturbance has travelled through the medium from one to the other. The medium in this case is intangible, but quite familiar, *viz.*, atmospheric air.

Next, suspend a couple of magnets, alike in all respects; pivoted, let us say, on points, at some distance from each other. Touch one of the magnets and set it swinging, the other begins to swing slightly, too. Once more a disturbance has travelled from one to the other, but the medium in this case is by no means obvious. It is nothing solid, liquid, or gaseous; that much is certain. Whether it is material or not depends partly on what we mean by material—partly requires more knowledge before a satisfactory answer can be given. We do, however, know something of the medium operative in this case, and we call it the Ether.

In these cases the intensity of the response varies rapidly with distance, and at a sufficiently great distance the response would be imperceptible.

This may be hastily set down as a natural consequence of a physical medium of communication, and a physical or mechanical disturbance; but it is not quite so.

Consider a couple of telephones connected properly by wires. They are sympathetic, and if one is tapped the other receives a shock. Speaking popularly, whatever is said to one is repeated by the other, and distance is practically unimportant; at any rate, there is no simple law of inverse square, or any such kind of law; there is a definite channel for the disturbance between the two.

The real medium of communication, I may say parenthetically, is still the ether.

Once more, take a mirror, pivoted on an axle, and capable of slight motion. At a distance let there be a suitable receiving instrument, say a drum of photographic paper and a lens. If the sun is shining on the mirror, and everything properly arranged, a line may be drawn by it on the paper miles away, and every tilt given to the mirror shall be reproduced as a kink in the line. And this may go on over great distances; no wire, or anything else commonly called "material" connecting the two stations, nothing but a beam of sunlight, a peculiar state of the ether.

So far we have been dealing with mere physics. Now poach a little on the ground of physiology. Take two brains, as like as possible, say belonging to two similar animals; place them a certain distance apart, with no known or obvious means of communication, and see if there is any sympathetic link between them. Apply a stimulus to one, and observe whether the other in any way responds? To make the experiment conveniently, it is best to avail oneself of the entire animal, and not of its brain alone. It is then easy to stimulate one of the brains through any of the creature's peripheral sense organs, and it may be possible to detect whatever effect is excited in the other brain by some motor impulse, some muscular movement of the appropriate animal.

So far as I know the experiment has hitherto been principally tried on man. This has certain advantages and certain disadvantages. The main advantage is that the motor result of intelligent speech is more definite and instructive than mere pawings and gropings or twitchings. The main disadvantage is that the liability to conscious deception and fraud becomes serious, much more serious than it is with a less cunning animal.

Of course it by no means follows that the experiment will succeed with a lower animal because it succeeds with man; but I am not aware of its having been tried at present except with man.

A simple mode of trying the experiment would be to pinch or hurt one animal and see if the other can feel any pain. If he does feel anything he will probably twitch and rub, or he may become vocal with displeasure.

There are two varieties of the experiment: First, with some manifest link or possible channel, as, for instance, where two individuals hold hands through a stuffed-up hole in the wall; and, second, with no such obvious medium, as when they are at a distance from one another.

Instead of simple pain in any part of the skin, one may stimulate the brain otherwise, by exciting some special sense organ; for instance, those of taste or smell. Apply nauseous or pleasant materials to the palate of one animal and watch the countenance of the other; or, if human, get the receptive person to describe the substance which the other is tasting.

These experiments have been tried with human subjects; they have been tried by Mr. Malcolm Guthrie and others in this city, and they have had a fair measure of positive result. But I am not concerned with making assertions regarding facts, or expecting credence at present. A serious amount of study is necessary before one is in a position to criticise any statement of fact. What I am concerned to show is that such experiments are not, on the face of them, absurd; that they are experiments which ought to be made; and that any result actually obtained, if definite and clear, ought to be gradually and cautiously accepted, whether it be positive or negative.

It may be objected that my mode of statement involves some hypothesis. The nerves of an individual, A, are stimulated, and the muscles of another individual, B,

respond. How do I know that the *brain* of either A or B has anything to do with it? Why may it not be an immediate connection between the peripheral sense organs themselves?

I think as we go on you will feel that this is improbable, and that we are driven by probability to ascend at least as high as brain in order to explain such facts as I have been postulating as possibly true. But I have not the slightest wish to dogmatise on the matter; and only to save time do I make that much assumption.

So far I have supposed the stimulus to be applied to the nerves of touch, or more generally the skin nerves, and to the taste nerves; but we may apply a stimulus equally well to the nerves of hearing, or of smelling, or of seeing. An experiment with a sound or a smell stimulus, however, is manifestly not very crucial unless the intervening distance between A and B is excessive; but a sight stimulus can be readily confined within narrow limits of space. Thus, a picture can be held up in front of the eyes of A, and B can be asked if he sees anything; and if he does, he can be told either to describe it or to draw it.

If the picture or diagram thus shown to A is one that has only just been drawn by the responsible experimenter himself; if it is one that has no simple name that can be signalled; if A is not allowed to touch B, or to move during the course of the experiment, and has never seen the picture before; if, by precaution of screening, rays from the picture can be positively asserted never to have entered the eyes of B; and if, nevertheless, B describes himself as seeing it, however dimly, and is able to draw it, in dead silence on the part of all concerned; then, I say, the experiment would be a good one.

But not yet would it be conclusive. We must consider who A and B are.

If they are a pair of persons who go about together, and make money out of the exhibition ; if they are in any sense a brace of professionals accustomed to act together, I deny that anything is solidly proved by such an experiment, for cunning is by no means an improbable hypothesis.

Cunning takes such a variety of forms that it is tedious to discuss them ; it is best to eliminate it altogether. That can be done by using unassorted individuals in unaccustomed rooms. True, the experiment may thus become much more difficult, if not indeed quite impossible. Two entirely different tuning forks will not respond. Two strangers are not usually sympathetic, in the ordinary sense of that word ; perhaps we ought not to expect a response. Nevertheless, the experiment must be made ; and if B is found able to respond, not only to A₁, but also to A₂, A₃, and other complete strangers, under the conditions already briefly mentioned, then the experiment may be regarded as satisfactory. I am prepared to assert that such satisfactory experiments have been made.

But the power of response in this way to the uninteresting impression of strangers does not appear to be a common faculty. The number of persons who can act efficiently as B is *apparently* very limited. But I do not make this assertion with any confidence, for so few people have as yet been seriously tried. It is most likely a question of degree. All shades of responsiveness may exist, from nearly 0 to something considerable.

More experiments are sadly wanted. They are not difficult to try, and sufficient variety may be introduced to prevent the observations from being too deplorably dull. They are I confess rather dull.

Before considering them satisfactory or publishing them it would be well to call in the assistance of a trained observer, who may be able to suggest further precautions ;

but at first it is probably well to choose fairly easy conditions.

Relations are probably more likely to succeed than are strangers; persons who feel a sympathy with each other, who are accustomed to imagine they know what the other is thinking of, or to say things simultaneously, and such like vague traditions as are common in most families: such individuals as these would naturally be the most likely ones to begin with, until experiment shows otherwise. The A power seems common enough; the B power, so far as I know, is rather rare—at least to a prominent extent.

It is customary to call A the agent and B the percipient, but there are some objections to these names.

The name agent suggests activity, and it is a distinct question whether any conscious activity is necessary. Sender and receiver are terms that might be used, but they labour under similar and perhaps worse objections. For the present let us simply use the terms A and B, which involve no hypotheses whatever.

A may be likened to the sending telephone or transmitter; B to the receiving telephone.

A to the sounded fork or quivering magnet, B to the responsive one.

A to the flashing mirror, B to the sensitive sheet.

But observe that in all the cases hitherto mentioned a third person is mentioned too, the experimenter, C. A and B are regarded as mere tools, instruments, apparatus, for C to make his experiments with.

Both are passive till C comes and excites the nerve of A, either by pinching him, or by putting things in his mouth, or by showing him diagrams or objects; and B is then supposed to respond to A. It may be objected that he is really responding to C all the time. Yes, indeed, that may sometimes be so, and it is a distinct possibility to remember. If

something that C is unconsciously looking at is described by B, instead of the object which is set in front of A, the experiment will seem a failure. There are many such possibilities to bear in mind in so novel a region of research.

But now I want to go on and point out that C is not essential. He probably is not an assistance at all, very likely he is an obstruction even if he is a serious and well-intentioned being. But if D, E, F, are present too as irresponsible spectators, talking or fidgetting, or even sitting still and thinking, the conditions are bad. One can never be sure what F is doing, he may be simply playing the fool. An experiment conducted in front of a large audience is senseless and useless.

Whenever I use the term thought-transference I never mean anything like public performances, whether by genuine persons or impostors. The human race is so constituted that such performances have their value—they incite others to try experiments; but in themselves, and speaking scientifically, public performances are useless, and often tend to obscure a phenomenon by covering it with semi-legitimate contempt.

I fear that some hypnotic exhibitions are worse than useless; being analagous to vivisection experiments conducted, not to advance science, but to exhibit some well known fact again and again, not even to students, but to an idle gaping crowd.

To return, however, to A and B: let us suppose them left alone, not stimulated by any third person; it is quite possible for A to combine the functions of C with his own functions, and to stimulate himself. He may look at a picture or a playing card, or he may taste a substance, or he may, if he can, simply think of a number, or a scene, or an event, and, so to speak, keep it vividly in his mind. It may happen that B will be able to describe the scene of which A

is thinking, sometimes almost correctly, sometimes with a large admixture of error, or at least of dimness.

The experiment is virtually the same as those above mentioned, and may be made quite a good one; the only weak part is that, under the circumstances, everything depends on the testimony of A, and A is not always believed.

This is, after all, a disability which he shares with C; and, at any rate, he is able to convince *himself* by such experiments, provided they are successful.

But now go a step further. Let A and B be not thinking of experimenting at all. Let them be at a distance from one another, and going about their ordinary vocations, including somnolence and the other passive as well as active occupations of the twenty-four hours. Let us, however, not suppose them strangers, but relatives or intimate friends; still better, *perhaps* (I make no assertions on any of these points), twin brothers. Now let something vividly excite A; let him fall down a cliff, or be run over by a horse, or fall into a river; or let him be taken violently ill, or be subject to some strong emotion; or let him be at the point of death.

Is it not conceivable that if any such sympathetic connexion between individuals as I have been postulating exists, if a paltry stimulus supplied by a third person is capable in the slightest degree of conveying itself from one individual to another, is it not conceivable or even probable that a violent stimulus, such as we have supposed A to receive, may be able to induce in B, even though inattentive and otherwise occupied, some dim echo, reverberation, response, and cause him to be more or less aware that A is suffering or perturbed. If B is busy, self-absorbed, actively engaged, he may notice nothing. If he happen to be quiescent, vacant, moody, or half or whole asleep, he may realise and be

conscious of something. He may perhaps only feel a vague sense of depression in general; or he may feel the depression and associate it definitely with A; or he may be more distinctly aware of what is happening, and call out that A has had a fall, or an accident, or is being drowned, or is ill; or he may have a specially vivid dream which will trouble him long after he wakes, and may be told to other persons, and written down; or he may think he hears A's voice; or, lastly, he may conjure up an image of A so vividly before his "mind's eye" that he may be able to persuade himself and others that he has seen his apparition:—sometimes a mere purposeless apparition, sometimes in a setting of a sort of vision or picture not unlike what is at the time elsewhere really happening.

The Society for Psychical Research have, with sublime perseverance and diligence, undertaken and carried forward the thankless labour of receiving and sifting a great mass of testimony to phenomena such as I have hinted at. They have published some of them in two large volumes, called *Phantasms of the Living*. Fresh evidence comes in every month. The evidence is so cumulative, and some of it is so well established, as to bear down the dead wall of scepticism in all those who have submitted to the drudgery of a study of the material. The evidence induces belief. It is not yet copious enough to lead to a valid induction.

I cannot testify to these facts as I can to the simple experiments where I have acted the part of C; evidence for spontaneous or involuntary thought transference must obviously depend on statements received from A and from B, as well as from other persons, some in the neighbourhood of A, others in the neighbourhood of B, together with contemporary newspaper reports, *Times'* obituaries, and other past documents relating to matters of fact, which are available for scrutiny, and may be regarded as trustworthy.

I am prepared, however, to confess that the weight of testimony is sufficient to satisfy my own mind that such things do undoubtedly occur; that the distance between England and India is no barrier to the sympathetic communication of intelligence in some way of which we are at present ignorant; that, just as a signalling key in London causes a telegraphic instrument to respond instantaneously in Teheran, which is an every-day occurrence, so the danger or death of a distant child, or brother, or husband, may be signalled, without wire or telegraph clerk, to the heart of a human being fitted to be the recipient of such a message.

We call the process telepathy—sympathy at a distance; we do not understand it. What is the medium of communication? Is it through the air, like the tuning forks; or through the ether, like the magnets; or is it something non-physical, and exclusively psychical? No one can as yet tell you. We must know far more about it before we can answer that question, perhaps before we can be sure whether the question has a meaning or not.

Undoubtedly, the scientific attitude, after being forced to admit the fact, is to assume a physical medium, and to discover it and its processes if possible. When the attempt has failed, it will be time enough to enter upon fresh hypotheses.

Meanwhile, plainly, telepathy strikes us as a spontaneous occurrence of that intercommunication between mind and mind (or brain and brain), which for want of a better term we at present style thought-transference. We may be wrong in thus regarding it, but as scientific men that is how we are bound to regard it unless forced by the weight of evidence into some apparently less tenable position.

The opinion is strengthened by the fact that the spontaneously occurring impressions can be artificially and experimentally imitated by conscious attempts to produce

them. Individuals are known who can by an effort of will excite the brain of another person at a moderate distance, say another part of the same town, possibly further, I am not sure of that, so that these second persons imagine that they hear him call or that they see his face.

These are called experimental apparitions, and appear well established. These experiments also want repeating. They require care, obviously; but they are very valuable pieces of evidence, and must contribute immensely to experimental psychology.

What now is the meaning of this unexpected sympathetic resonance, this syntonic reverberation between minds? Is it conceivably the germ of a new sense, as it were, something which the human race is, in the progress of evolution, destined to receive in fuller measure? or is it the relic of a faculty possessed by our animal ancestry before speech was?

I have no wish to intrude speculations upon you, and I cannot answer these questions except in terms of speculation. I wish to assert nothing but what I believe to be solid and verifiable facts.

Let me, however, point out that the intercommunion of minds, the exciting in the brain of B a thought possessed by A, is after all a very ordinary and well known process. We have a quantity of well-arranged mechanism to render it possible. The human race has advanced far beyond the animal in the development of this mechanism; and civilised man has advanced beyond savages. Conceivably, by thus developing the mechanism, we may have begun to lose the spontaneous and really simple form of the power; but the power with mechanism conspicuously exists.

I whisper a secret to A, and a short time afterwards I find that B is perfectly aware of it. It sometimes happens so. It has probably happened in what we are accustomed to

consider a very commonplace fashion ; A has told him. When you come to analyse the process, however, it is not really at all simple. I will not go into tedious details ; but when you remember that all that conveyed the thought was the impalpable compressions and dilatations of a gas, and that in the process of transmission it existed for a finite space of time in this intermediate and curiously mechanical condition, you may realise something of puzzlement in the process. I am not sure but that we ought to consider some direct sympathy between two minds, without this mechanical process ; as really a more simple and direct mode of conveying an idea. However, all dualism is repugnant when pressed far enough, and I by no means intend to insist on any real and essential antithesis between mind and matter, between idea and process. Pass on to another illustration.

Tell a secret to A, in New Zealand, and discover that B, in St. Petersburg, is before long aware of it, neither having travelled. How can that happen ? That is not possible to a savage ; it would seem to him mysterious. It is mysterious in reality. The idea existed for a time in the form of black scrawls on a bit of paper, which travelled between the two places. A transfer of material occurred, not an aerial vibration ; the piece of paper held in front of B's eyes excited in him the idea or knowledge of fact which I had communicated to A.

Not even a material transfer is necessary however ; nothing flows along a telegraph wire, and the air is undisturbed by an electric current, but thought transference through the etherial medium (with the help of a telegraph or telephone wire) is an accomplished fact, though it would have puzzled our ancestors of last century. And yet it is not really new, it is only the distance and perfection of it that is new. The old semaphore system of signalling, as well as the heliograph method, is really a utilisation of the

ether for thought transference. Much information, sometimes of momentous character, may be conveyed by a wink or nod; or even by a look. These also are messages sent through the ether. The eye is affected by disturbances arriving through the ether, and by those alone.

Now, then, I say, shut the eyes, stop the ears, transmit no material substance, interpose distance sufficient to stop all pushing and pulling. Can thought or ideas still be transmitted? Experiment answers they can. But what the medium is, and how the process occurs, it remains for further investigation to ascertain.

We reduced our initial three individuals to two; we can reduce the two to one. It is possible for the A and B functions to be apparently combined in one individual. Some practice seems necessary for this, and it is a curious state of things. It seems assisted by staring at an object such as a glass globe or crystal—a slight amount of self-hypnotism probably. Then you see visions and receive impressions, or sometimes your hand works unconsciously, as if one part of your brain was signalling to another part, and your own identity was dormant or complexed for a time. But in these cases of so-called automatic writing, crystal vision, trance-utterance, clairvoyance, and the like, are we quite sure whether it is a case of A and B at all; and, if so, whether the subject before us is really acting as both? I am not sure; I rather doubt it in some cases. It is possible that the clairvoyant is responding to some unknown world-mind of which he forms a part. This possibility must not be ignored in ordinary cases of apparent thought-transference, too.

Well, now, take a further step. Suppose I discover a piece of paper with scrawls on it. I may guess they are intended for something, but as they are to me illegible hieroglyphics, I carry it to one person after another, and get them

to look at it, but it excites in them no response. They perceive little more than a savage would perceive. But not so with all of them. One man to whom I show it has the perceptive faculty, so to speak; he becomes wildly excited; he begins to sing; he rushes for an arrangement of wood and catgut, and fills the air with vibrations. Even the others can now faintly appreciate the meaning. The piece of paper was a lost manuscript of Beethoven.

What sort of thought transference is that? Where is the A to whom the ideas originally occurred? He has been dead for years; his thought has been fossilised, lain dormant in matter, but it only wanted a sympathetic and educated mind to perceive it, to revive it, and to make it the property of the world. Idea, I call it; but it is not only idea: there may be a world of emotion thus stored up in matter, ready to be released as by a detent. Action of mind on matter, reaction of matter on mind—are these things, after all, commonplaces too?

If so what is not possible?

Here is a room where a tragedy occurred, where the human spirit was strung to intensest anguish. Is there any trace of that agony present still and able to be appreciated by an attuned or receptive mind? I assert nothing, except that it is not inconceivable. If it happen, it may take many forms; vague disquiet perhaps, or imaginary sounds or vague visions, or perhaps a dream or picture of the event as it occurred. Understand I do not regard the evidence for these things as so conclusive as for some of the other phenomena I have dealt with, but the belief in such facts may be forced upon us, and you perceive that the garment of superstition is already dropping from them. They will take their place, if true, in an orderly universe, along with other not wholly unallied and already well known occurrences.

Relics again: is it credible that a relic, a lock of hair, an

old garment, retains any indication of a departed, retains any portion of his personality. Does not an old letter? Does not a painting? An "old master" we call it. Aye, there may be much of the personality of the old master thus preserved. Is not the emotion felt on looking at it a kind of thought transference from the departed? A painting differs from a piece of music in that it is constantly incarnate, so to speak. It is there for all to see, for some to understand. The music requires incarnation, it can be performed as we say, and then it can be appreciated. But in no case without the attuned and thoughtful mind; and so these things are, in a sense, thought-transference, but deferred thought-transference. They may be likened to telepathy not only reaching over tracts of space but deferred through epochs of time.*

Think over these great things and be not unduly sceptical about little things. An attitude of keen and critical enquiry must continually be maintained, and in that sense any amount of scepticism is not only legitimate but necessary. The kind of scepticism I deprecate is not that which sternly questions and rigorously probes, it is rather that which confidently asserts and dogmatically denies; but this kind is not true scepticism, in the proper sense of the word, for it deters enquiry and forbids inspection. It is too positive concerning the boundaries of knowledge and the line where superstition begins.

Phantasms and dreams, and ghosts, crystal-gazing, premonitions, and clairvoyance: the region of superstition; yes, but possibly also the region of fact. As taxes on credulity they are trifles compared to the things we are already

*They are not technical telepathy, as defined, of course, because they occur through accustomed ways and processes. Technical telepathy is the attainment of the same result through unaccustomed ways and processes.

familiar with ; only too familiar with ; stupidly and inanely inappreciative of.

Let superstition envelope the whole of our knowledge and existence if it envelope any, but let it be called by a less ignoble name.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

By J. W. S. CALLIE.

I AM deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in permitting me to read a paper on "The Labour Problem," after the two able papers which our President has given upon the subject; but still, at the same time, I feel that no apology is needed for bringing the question once more to your attention; for the credit of the Society as a Society, and for the inward satisfaction of the individual members, I do not think it right that we should lay this subject aside until we have thoroughly and honestly sought to find the solution of the problem.

THE EIGHT HOURS' MOVEMENT.

One important measure, which some of the labour leaders consider a solution of the problem, is an Eight Hours Bill. These leaders base their action upon the fundamental proposition that eight hours is long enough for any man to work. This is a proposition which I do not think anyone in this audience would seek to controvert. The agitation itself marks how far, in one important respect, the condition of the labourer has altered for the worse. The late Professor Thorold Rogers, in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," says that "the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English labourer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessaries of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time

was food so cheap . . . nor were the hours long. It is plain that the day was one of eight hours."

But the great cause for the Eight Hours Movement lies in the belief held so largely by working men, that it will solve the labour difficulty, or at any rate go far towards its solution, by providing work for the unemployed. They seem under the impression that work is strictly limited in quantity, and should, therefore, be carefully doled out, like provisions in a beleaguered city. In fact, although they argue that eight hours work is enough for any one, yet, at the same time, their real objection to one man working ten or twelve hours a day is not that it is too hard on the man, but that he is getting more than his share of work, and consequently is depriving some other man of his share; and that a law which prevented any one working more than eight hours a day would ensure everyone being employed. In the first number of the *Economic Journal* (March, 1891), there is an article by Mr. John Rae on "The Eight Hours a Day in Victoria," and he shews in that article two very striking results, or rather, negative results, if I may use the term, from the legislation on the question. 1st. "To all outward appearance, at any rate, it has had no effect on wages at all; it has neither raised them nor reduced them." 2nd. "It has had no very sensible influence on the numbers of the unemployed." The fact being that, with the short day, the men worked harder and expended the same energy in eight hours that they formerly spread over ten; and the employers "set themselves to practise economies of various sorts; to make more efficient arrangements of the work; to introduce better machinery, or to speed the old; to try the double shift and other expedients to maintain and even augment the production of their works." The eight hours legislation of Victoria is very permissive in its character, and therefore is different to the drastic legislation some demand

for this country. It must be evident to all that it would be difficult to have an eight hours day in this country; and, in regard to many occupations, such as professional men, domestic servants, small shopkeepers, and most of those victims of the sweating system who do their work in their own houses, absolutely impossible. There are many cases in which the State is thoroughly justified in interfering—in regard to children and young persons; railway men and others who, through relaxed vigilance, due to fatigue, endanger the lives of their fellows. But it is good for the State to interfere as little as possible with the liberty of the individual. The very fact that, as Emerson says, “Mankind is as lazy as he dares to be,” and yet that it is necessary to pass a law to compel him *not to do* that which he does not want to do—viz., to work more than eight hours a day, is sufficient to shew that there must be a deeper problem to be solved; and I hope before the conclusion of the paper to show that, by the solution of this deeper evil, legislation restricting the liberty of the subject is rendered unnecessary; for, under proper conditions, a man will not need to work even eight hours a day to secure a living, while, if he worked eighteen, he would do no harm to any fellow workman. This deeper evil is eloquently referred to by Henry George in his recently published work, “The condition of Labour,” a reply to the Pope’s Encyclical. He says: “In the industrial slavery that prevails in Christendom to-day, it is not the master who forces the slave to labour, but the slave who urges the master to let him labour. Thus the greatest difficulty in enforcing such regulations comes from those whom they are intended to benefit. It is not, for instance, the masters who make it difficult to enforce restrictions on child labour in factories, but the mothers, who, prompted by poverty, misrepresent the ages of their children even to the masters, and teach the children to misrepresent.” He was

probably thinking chiefly of America when he wrote, but the same fact is evidenced in the discussions at the Trades' Union Congress; it is given in the article on the "Eight Hours Day in Victoria" already referred to. M. Yves Guyot used the same argument in regard to France: It is from the workers the chief hindrance to the working of an eight hours law will come with the result that it would either be allowed to remain unenforced or to be the cause of endless annoyance and persecution.

TRADES UNIONS.

Another proposed remedy for the present evil industrial system, of a similarly restrictive character is Trades Unionism. Trades Unionism has, during the past two or three years, displayed a vast amount of vigour and achieved many signal successes, and it is not to be wondered at if its supporters believe that in it they have discovered the salvation of the worker. But in Trades Unionism there is a principle of evil as well as a principle of good. To the members of the union there is the danger that while they are delivered from the tyranny of the unscrupulous capitalist on the one hand, they fall into the slavery of officialism on the other; and to the workers who are not members of a union there is the very serious danger of finding their already small chances of earning a living made still smaller. Under present conditions the rate of wages depends upon the number of workmen seeking employment, as compared with the number employers have work for. Knowing this, trades unionists endeavour to restrict the number of men in their particular trade by insisting that only those who have served a regular apprenticeship shall be employed, while at the same time restricting the number of apprentices. At present there are many trades and professions where unionism has little hold, and in even those in which

unionism is powerful, there are many non-union shops ; but unionism is progressing rapidly, and it is easy to perceive that, while under a thoroughly socialistic *regime*, entrance to individual industries may be regulated and yet care be taken to find some occupation for everyone, yet to permit trades unions the power of closing the door to one industry after another, without being under any obligation to provide other employment, must inevitably result in a large class of enforced idlers. The error here is the same as that noticed in regard to the eight hours agitation—the idea that work is limited in quantity and the object of the Trades Union must therefore be to secure it all for their members, and prevent anyone else getting any. Let me again quote George. “Labour associations of the nature of Trade Guilds or Unions are necessarily selfish ; by the law of their being, they must fight for their own hand, regardless of who is hurt, they ignore and must ignore the teaching of Christ that we should do to others as we would have them do to us, which a true political economy shows is the only way to the full emancipation of the masses. They must do their best to starve workmen who do not join them, they must by all means in their power force back the “blackleg”—as the soldier in battle must shoot down his mother’s son if in the opposing ranks. And who is the blackleg ? a fellow-creature seeking work—a fellow-creature, in all probability, more pressed and starved than those who so bitterly denounce him, and often with the hungry, pleading faces of wife and child behind him.”

No. Trades Unionism has done and is doing good work by opposing force to force, but we need not look to it for the solution of the Labour Problem, for the absolute triumph of Trades Unionism would mean the substitution of the despotism of officialism for the present system. Dr. Brentano in his recently published work on Trades Guilds,

"The relation of Labour to the law of to-day," shews the value of the work performed by the old Guilds or Unions in the past. But this very account of the work of the unions in the past, written by an enthusiastic admirer of Trades Unionism, affords full evidence of the despotic and restrictive tendency of unionism. Dr. Brentano shews how upon the break up of the primitive community of the family, a period of universal insecurity followed in which the great land-owning lords strove to crush the small freeholders, and the latter, perceiving their only safety lay in combination, united themselves into guilds, and these guilds practically performed the same functions the family had originally fulfilled. In place of the system of protection of rights by the family we have that of the guild. Guilds were also created for the same purpose in the cities, and by means of these the free citizens were able to preserve their liberty against the assaults of bishops and princes. When they had succeeded in this, and had become powerful, they in turn were intoxicated with success, and became intolerant and exclusive; "wealth, acquired by commerce, spent in the purchase of lands, of profitable privileges, and the like, placed them in a position to lead a life of ease. Idleness was now exalted to rank and honour. The handiworkers were, on principle, excluded from the guild; only a part of the members of the guild still carried on trade. Indeed the laws even made a distinction between the patricians and the man, "without hearth and honour who lives by labour," and the former might box the ears of the latter without being punished for it, if he did not show him proper respect." But "boxing the ears" was not the only grievance nor the chief; in fact, we are told, "in many places the handiworkers became almost the subjects of the ruling families." This naturally led to opposition guilds being formed, but invariably as the new guild overthrew the old, and became

powerful, it in turn became despotic, and thus each combination contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Human nature is the same to-day as it ever was, and this tendency to despotism is as great now as formerly. A good instance was afforded in the proposition of the London Dockers' Union, some two years ago, to close their union against any fresh comers, which was really a proposition to make the union a close corporation to have control of the loading and unloading of ships in London, and shut out the unfortunate unskilled labourer from what is really his last chance of obtaining honest employment. Had this suicidal policy been persisted in, it would simply have led to an opposition union being formed.

In regard to the labour question, one thing at once demands our attention: the problem is confined to civilised countries. In uncivilised countries, we may have want and misery. A drought may cause scarcity and famine, a tyrant may make the rest of the nation slaves, but there is no problem involved. It is simply a matter of cause and effect, and the obvious remedies are irrigation and assassination respectively. But in civilised countries we are confronted with a *problem*; for there we find want in the midst of—aye, and sometimes caused by—plenty; labour-saving machinery making it more difficult for men to obtain food and clothing; idlers living in splendid mansions, the workers in hovels; manufacturers complaining of over-production, while in the very same towns there are men, women, and children in direst need of the very productions the manufacturers say they cannot dispose of. A couple of years ago, two works were issued almost simultaneously: Giffen's *Growth of Capital*, and the first "Report of the Sweating Commission." As we have seen, the historian tells us that the fifteenth, not the nineteenth, century was the "golden age" for the

English labourer, and that despite the wonderful progress of science. With the labour-saving machinery we possess, there should be no need for Eight Hours Bills, no poverty, but everyone should have plenty. In regard to the powers of machinery, Mr. Edward Atkinson, in his *Distribution of Products*, says: "By division of labour, and by the application of machinery upon the great farms of Dakota, such enormous abundance is secured that, when we convert bushels of grain to the equivalent of one man's work, working three hundred days in one year, we find that, in an average year, on land producing twenty bushels of wheat to the acre, 5,500 to 5,600 bushels of wheat are made for each man's work. Retaining enough for seed, this quantity suffices to make a thousand barrels of flour. It can be carried through the flour mill and put into barrels, including the labour of making the barrels, at the equivalent of one other man's labour for the year; and at the ratio of the work done to each man employed upon the New York Central Railroad, the 4,500 bushels of wheat can be moved from far Dakota to a flour mill in Minnesota, and thence the thousand barrels of flour can be moved to the city of New York, and all the machinery of the farm, the mill, and the railroad can also be kept in repair, at the equivalent of the labour of two more men. So that the modern miracle is, that a thousand barrels of flour, the annual ration of a thousand people, can be placed in the city of New York, from a point one thousand seven hundred to two thousand miles distant, with the exertion of the human labour equivalent to that of only four men working one year in producing, milling, and moving the wheat. It can there be baked and distributed by the work of three more persons; so that seven persons serve one thousand with bread."

And again: "Iron lies at the foundation of all the arts. At an average of 200 lbs. per head in the United States, the

largest consumption of iron in any nation, we yet find that the equivalent of one man's work for one year, divided between the coal mine, the iron mine, and the iron furnace, suffices for the supply of five hundred persons. One operator in the cotton factory makes cloth for two hundred and fifty, in the woollen factory for three hundred; one modern cobbler (who is anything but a cobbler), working in a boot and shoe factory, furnishes a thousand men, or more than a thousand women, with all the boots and shoes they require in a year."

OVER-POPULATION.

But when we point out the wealth of the country and the power of machinery, we are told: Yes, that is all very well, but the fact is the country is over-populated, and the only remedy for the poverty of the masses lies in emigration. This doctrine—with which is identified the name of Malthus, a clergyman of the Church of England, who was recently described in the *London Daily Chronicle* as "The puzzle-headed parson who exemplified his theory by begetting nine children"—this iniquitous and blasphemous doctrine has been the convenient excuse of those who shirk the duty imposed upon them, alike, by the laws of God and the common dictates of humanity, of helping to raise the condition of the masses. The Malthusian theory asserts that NATURE, as George says, "they do not venture to say God," brings into the world more men than there is provision for. We cannot separate God and Nature. Have you ever considered what this implies; this bringing into existence beings gifted with exquisite sensitiveness without any provision for them? I think it was Emerson, who, after a theological argument, said, "I see it now, there is no difference of opinion between us only your God is my Devil." Nor can we think that the All-Wise bungles in

His work of creation. No, follow it out for yourselves and you will come to the conclusion I have come to, that the Malthusian doctrine is nothing short of blasphemy. Listen to what Mr. Edward Atkinson, one of the leading American economists, says :—"The absurdity of the attempt as yet to measure the power of subsistence and to declare it to be limited can be demonstrated in two or three simple ways suitable to the use of a statistician like myself. First, no man yet knows the productive capacity of a single acre of land anywhere in respect to food : second, the whole existing population of the globe, estimated at 1,400,000,000 persons, could find comfortable standing room within the limits of a field ten miles square ; third, the average crop of wheat in the United States and Canada would give one person in every twenty of the population of the globe a barrel of flour in each year, with enough to spare for seed. The land capable of producing wheat is not occupied to anything like one-twentieth of its extent. We can raise grain enough on a small part of the territory of the United States to feed the world."

Our President in his first paper on this question quoted some telling statistics on the capability of the soil of the United Kingdom. I shall endeavour to sum them up in the following quotation from an article by Prince Kropotkin in the *Nineteenth Century*, for June, 1888 :—"If the soil of the United Kingdom were cultivated only as it *was* thirty years ago, 24,000,000 people instead of 17,000,000 could live on home-grown food ; and that culture, while giving occupation to at least 750,000 men, would give nearly 3,000,000 wealthy home customers to the British manufacturers. If the 1,590,000 acres on which wheat was grown thirty years ago—only these, and not more—were cultivated as the fields are cultivated now in England under the allotment system, which give on the average forty

bushels per acre, the United Kingdom would grow food for 27,000,000 inhabitants out of 35,000,000. If the now cultivated area of the United Kingdom (80,000 square miles) were cultivated as the soil is cultivated *on the average* in Belgium, the United Kingdom would have food for 37,000,000 inhabitants; and it might export agricultural produce, without ceasing to manufacture so as freely to supply all the needs of a wealthy population. And finally, if the population of this country came to be doubled, all that would be required for producing the food for 70,000,000 inhabitants would be to cultivate the soil as it is cultivated in the best farms of this country, in Lombardy, and in Flanders, and to cultivate the meadows which at present lie almost unproductive around the big cities in the same way as the neighbourhoods of Paris are cultivated by the Paris *Maraichers*. All these are not fancy dreams, but mere realities; nothing but modest conclusions from what we see round about us, without any allusion to the agriculture of the future."

Now how does it come about that with all this we have so many people lacking food, why do they not produce it for themselves?

THE CAUSE OF POVERTY.

Here we have the true cause of poverty. Men cannot work unless they have access to the land; but in this country we have allowed the land to be monopolised by a few thousand individuals. To begin with, this means that out of their earnings the workers have to hand over about one hundred and fifty millions to be spent by the idlers. This in itself is a serious matter, but it is small as compared with the power for evil which this monopoly gives the landowners. Our soil and climate are very favourable for agriculture, and any agriculturist given access to the land could maintain

himself and family. When allowed this access, he reaps the product of his labour, and the harder and longer he works, the greater is his reward. He uses or sells the *product* of his labour. But if he is denied access to the land to produce food, &c., for himself, he can no longer sell the product of his labour, but *is forced to sell the labour itself*. This completely alters the standard of wages. With access to the land, the labourer receives a product wage, depending upon his own exertions; denied that access, as is now the case, his wage becomes a competitive one, depending not upon his own industry, but solely upon the number of men seeking employment, as compared with the number employers have work for. As there are more wanting employment than there is employment for, we have an overstocked labour market, and were it not for trades unions, wages would fall to a mere subsistence wage, as they practically have in industries where there are no unions.

This land monopoly not only prevents many people from producing at all, but also diverts the labour of many of the workers we term "productive" (as distinguished from idlers) into useless channels, pandering to luxury and vice, and, therefore, really unproductive. So that landlordism artificially reduces the number of real producers, and, allowing them a poor wage to live upon, appropriates a large portion of the product of their labour. Further, the evil caused by diverting labour from productive to unproductive channels is very great.

But if the power of the landlords was broken, we would have a large population settled on the soil, producing primaries and exchanging their surplus products for the secondaries of others; and, since with access to the production of primaries open, the worker need not come under the competitive system unless he liked, true freedom of contract would be established, and the struggle between labour and capital practically ended.

Let us look at it from another point of view.

FIRST PRINCIPLES.

In a primitive community each one would do everything for himself; produce his own food, make his own implements, clothing, &c. But it would soon be discovered that some members of the tribe had a special aptitude for manufacturing weapons, canoes, &c., and that it would pay the others to keep these skilled artisans, as we may term them, working exclusively at making these things, while the others devoted the time they would otherwise have spent in producing these secondaries to producing extra food, &c., for the sustenance of the artisans. We have now some members of the tribe producing primaries; others producing secondaries. And this division of labour, in which each does that for which he is best fitted, results in a greater total product with less exertion than when each did everything for himself. Further, each will receive the proper reward of his labour, for it is clear that the "artisan" will not consent to abandon the production of everything, both food and secondaries, for himself, and devote his whole time to the production of secondaries for others, unless the recompense he receives is sufficient to keep him in, at least, an equal degree of comfort to that which he would have enjoyed producing everything for himself; and the moment the others attempted to beat him down below that standard, he would say he would abandon the production of secondaries and go back to working for himself. So long as access to the land is open to him, he is independent. The same applies to any other members, such as soldiers, &c., who abandon producing primaries for themselves to perform services for the benefit of the community. On the other hand, should the artisan claim too much for the secondaries he produces, the food producer would devote merely sufficient time to agriculture,

hunting, or fishing to provide enough food for himself and family, and in his spare time produce those things he considers the artisan is demanding too much for. Each receives full value for his labour, and we have, in fact, what is practically a *Product Wage*, which is the natural standard.

MACHINERY UNDER LAND MONOPOLY.

It is the helplessness which this denial of access to the land produces which deprives machinery of most of that benefit it ought to, but does not, confer on the community. Take a sewing machine, for instance. What a boon it is to the mother of a family; how many hours' work it saves her. But the sewing machine has not made Hood's "Song of the Shirt" a thing of the past. *The seampstress has to sell her labour*, and it does not matter whether she labours with a needle or with a machine. True she turns out many times the quantity with a machine as compared with the hand stitching, but the amount of product is no concern of hers, that is the sweater's look out, he buys the labour and sells the product. But with access to the land open, machinery fulfils its proper function—that of being a help to men and a means whereby his toil is lessened, while his comforts are increased. If the machine is one which assists in the production of primaries, the artisan will share the benefit derived from it, by receiving more primaries in exchange for secondaries; for if the agriculturist attempts to monopolise the benefit, the artisan will cease purchasing primaries from him and devote a portion of his time to producing them for himself with the aid of the machine. On the other hand, if the machine be one for the manufacture of secondaries, the agriculturist must participate in its benefits, otherwise he will devote part of his time to producing these secondaries with the aid of the machine. And, although machinery is now complex and costly, yet, if

access to the land be open to all, each will share in its benefits.

That the Labour Question was in reality the Land Question has been perceived by many writers in the past. One economist, Mr. P. E. Dove, who practically anticipated Mr. George's scheme, said in his *Theory of Human Progression*, published 1850:—"Britain may go on producing with wonderful energy, and may accomplish far more than she has yet accomplished. She may struggle as Britain only can struggle. She may present to the world peace at home when the nations of Europe are filled with insurrection. She may lead foremost in the march of civilisation and be first among the kingdoms of the earth. All this she may do and more. But, as certainly as Britain continues her present social arrangements, so certainly will there come a time when—the other questions being cleared on this side and on that side, and the main question brought into the arena—the *labour* of Britain will emancipate itself from thralldom. Gradually and surely has the separation been taking place between the privileged landowner and the unprivileged labourer. And the time will come at last that there shall be but two parties looking each other in the face, and knowing that the destruction of one is an event of necessary consequence. That event *must* come. Nor is it in man to stay it or to produce it. It will come as the result of the laws that govern nature and that govern man. Of the two parties one must give way, one must sink to rise no more; one must disappear from the earth. Their continued existence is incompatible. Nature cannot support both."

HOW TO SOLVE THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

Mr. Henry George, in a speech delivered at a meeting of the Financial Reform Association in Liverpool, on November

30th, 1888, said, in reference to the solution of the Labour Problem :—"The only class to look to is the lowest class. Raise any other class in the community, improve their condition, and you but widen the gulf. You cannot make any permanent improvement in social conditions until the lowest man is raised." This is sound advice ; let us never aim at levelling down, but always at *levelling up*. Who is the lowest man in the present case ? The man who is in want of food and clothing. Now, it is an acknowledged fact that a man working on the land can produce enough to maintain himself and several others. But land in this country is not looked upon in the light of being the means of supporting its cultivators ; it is only regarded as a rent-yielding property. This has been pointed out over and over again. In an old copy of Carpenter's *Political Magazine*, dated January, 1832—sixty years ago—and in an article on "The Rights of Industry" I find the following :—"Suppose a landed estate of sufficient extent to maintain by tillage cultivation a thousand families in comfort and independence. If the estate be divided among the thousand families, it is very evident they will not cease to produce until all their wants are satisfied. But if the estate belong to one individual, whether the thousand families will be employed or not will depend upon their ability to produce, over and above the cost of their own maintenance, a profit to this one proprietor. If they can produce just enough for themselves, but nothing in the shape of profit, then they will not be employed by the proprietor, and the land will not be cultivated."

Here we perceive the nature of the struggle which has already commenced between the labourer and the landowner. It is the RIGHT OF INDUSTRY against the PRIVILEGE OF MONOPOLY. The privileged landowner possesses, and exercises, the power of inflicting serious injury upon the rest of the nation. By means of his privilege he deprives the

labourer of his right to work; and thus of the food, clothing, and other things he could obtain by his labour. If there were no land monopoly, there would not be a single man in this country able to work and yet not able to find work. He would no longer need to find an employer; he could work for himself. It is monstrous to assume that because food stuffs can be imported cheaper from abroad, therefore our fields should be uncultivated, while hundreds of thousands lack proper food. Does the fact that American wheat is cheap cause a shrinkage in the yield per acre of British wheat or deprive it of its nutritive qualities? Nature does not recognise our artificial distinctions, and if we can only get the unemployed in our towns put upon the land, they can work and reap the fruits of their labour without bothering their heads about foreign competition. It is the man who produces for sale only who is affected by foreign competition. The first thing, therefore, we have to do is to break down the monopoly of the landowner, and allow the labourer freedom of access to the land. *This can be done easily and simply by the taxation of land values.* Under our present system land not put to any use is exempted from taxation; while, on the other hand, the better the use to which we put the land the higher is the taxation placed upon it. Land not put to use is treated as useless, as far as taxation is concerned. This is altogether a wrong principle; the man who puts land to use is thereby benefiting the community, and should not be punished (by heavy taxation) for doing good; it is the man who will not allow his land to be put to use who should be taxed, for he is inflicting a great injury upon the community. We have heard a great deal about the overcrowding in London and other large towns. See how this exemption from taxation affects this question. Mr. Sydney Webb, in his evidence before the Committee on Town Holdings, exposed the enormous loss caused to the

community by the exemption of vacant building land from proper assessment. He said :—"The loss to London is enormous; evidence was given before the Valuation of Land Committee of the London County Council that the amount of vacant building land in Kensington is worth not less than £1,700,000; and that certain fields in Kensington which have a selling value of £400,000—that means to say, could probably be let for ground rents of £15,000 or £18,000, are not rated at £15,000 or £18,000, although that is the rent which the tenant may reasonably be expected to pay, but *they are rated at £62 a year instead of that £15,000 or £18,000.*" We must remember that that land is wanted for building purposes—perhaps not for high-class houses, but it is wanted for houses for the people: and because the landlord won't let or sell unless he obtains not merely the value of the land now, but the value he expects it will have later on, the people are crowded into expensive yet insanitary dwellings, where the death-rate is fifty per thousand, as against ten per thousand in the districts inhabited by the wealthy. If it were rated at its true value, and a heavy tax imposed, the ground landlord would be forced to have it put to use, since he could not afford to pay taxation on ground that brought in no rent.

In the same way, if we tax agricultural land upon its full value, and levy the tax whether the land be put to use or not, the effect will be most beneficial. Sir Redvers Buller, in his evidence before the Irish Land Act Commission, said :—"I feel very strongly that in this part of the country you can never have peace unless you create some legal equipoise or legal equivalent that will supply the *want of freedom of contract* that now exists between the landlord and the tenant. I think there should be some legal machinery which would give the tenant an equivalent for the pressure that the landlord is able to put on him." This can easily

and fairly be given. At present a few landlords monopolise the land, and can, through this monopoly, hold out for their own terms, or else allow the land to remain untilled and unused. Fixing rents by law is at best a clumsy proceeding; true "fair rent" can only be estimated by the free action of the laws of supply and demand. *This free action can be secured by a tax upon land values based on the value of the land in use, and levied whether the land be put to use or not.* What the amount of the tax should be is a matter for Parliament to consider; all we insist upon is that it must be sufficiently heavy to make it unprofitable for a landlord to keep his land idle, and that it must not be levied on improvements. The result of this will be that the landlord can no longer keep his land out of use, and he will be afraid to rack-rent a tenant, lest the tenant leave, and he finds himself called upon to pay a heavy land tax upon land which is not bringing him in any rent. At the same time, in order to make the most profit, he will be compelled to let the land in lots to suit the requirements of the people, whether in large farms, small farms, or market gardens; whichever, in fact, will bring him in the best rent.

It may be urged that access to the land *at a fair rent* will be of no use to the labourer, for he cannot pay rent. A little consideration will show that this objection is unfounded. What is a fair rent? Land in new countries, however fertile, cannot bear rent until access to markets is given. For, however large or however fertile the tract of land occupied by any settler, unless he is able to sell his surplus products, he will only cultivate sufficient to provide food to keep himself and family (any beyond that would be wasted); and the rest of his time he will devote to making other things for his comfort or convenience. But let railway or other communication be opened between his land and large centres of industry, and a great change ensues. It

pays him now to devote his whole time and energy to developing the resources of his land, because, after keeping sufficient for his own wants, he can sell the surplus produce, and with the proceeds purchase the products of other labourers, and thus live in much greater comfort than before. As new comers arrive he will be able, if he wishes it, to let his land to some other man, and the utmost rent that this man can afford to pay will be equal to the additional comfort communication with centres of industry has conferred. The life of the first settler was laborious; he had to make everything for himself; then came the railway which brought him within the reach of the benefits of society, with its sub-division of labour and wonderful machinery. He has now no longer to work both late and early producing food, clothing, furniture, implements, &c.; a much shorter time devoted to the production of food stuffs alone will now suffice to provide enough for himself and family, and a surplus for sale. With the proceeds of the surplus produce he can purchase other articles, and since each of these articles is the manufacture of men who devote their whole time and brain power to the production of these things, generally with the aid of the latest machinery, they are much better made and cheaper than if he had made them himself. He can thus, with a smaller amount of labour, obtain a greater quantity of products; or, since the values both of the produce he sells and the products he buys are reckoned in money, he can, thanks to the communications opened between him and other workers, obtain a greater amount of money at a smaller expenditure of labour. If land become scarce, he can now find other men willing to take his upon the terms he had at the first, namely,—to work hard and earn only a bare living,—and give him in the shape of rent the value which contact with civilisation has added to the land. Thus we see that the payment of a fair rent puts the labourer in a position

similar to that of a settler in a new country, cut off from the advantages of civilisation. Yet if we could only put our unemployed in such a position we should feel that a great step had been taken towards the solution of the labour problem.

FURTHER RESULTS OF THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

We have taken a new country as the best to illustrate the fact that rent depends solely upon the value of the surplus products of land; for this applies to everything in, or the produce of, land; if Robinson Crusoe had found a coalfield on his island, he could not have paid rent for it, for all the coal beyond what he required for himself would have been valueless to him. But in Britain the value of land is not due to communication with centres of industry in other countries, but to the growth and industry of our own population.* Now, an object is the property of its creator, and land values, being created by the community, and not by the landowners, should belong to the community. We have seen that access to the land on payment of a fair rent places the labourer in a position similar to that of a man living beyond the confines of civilisation. If now, in the place of this rent going into the pockets of a few private owners, it be appropriated by taxation, and judiciously and economically expended for the benefit of the whole community, each will receive his fair share of the benefit derived from living in a state of society and civilisation.

In addition to its capacity for growing food-stuffs, many parts of our land contain valuable mineral wealth. This is claimed by the landowners as their property (thanks to laws made by Parliaments composed exclusively of landowners,

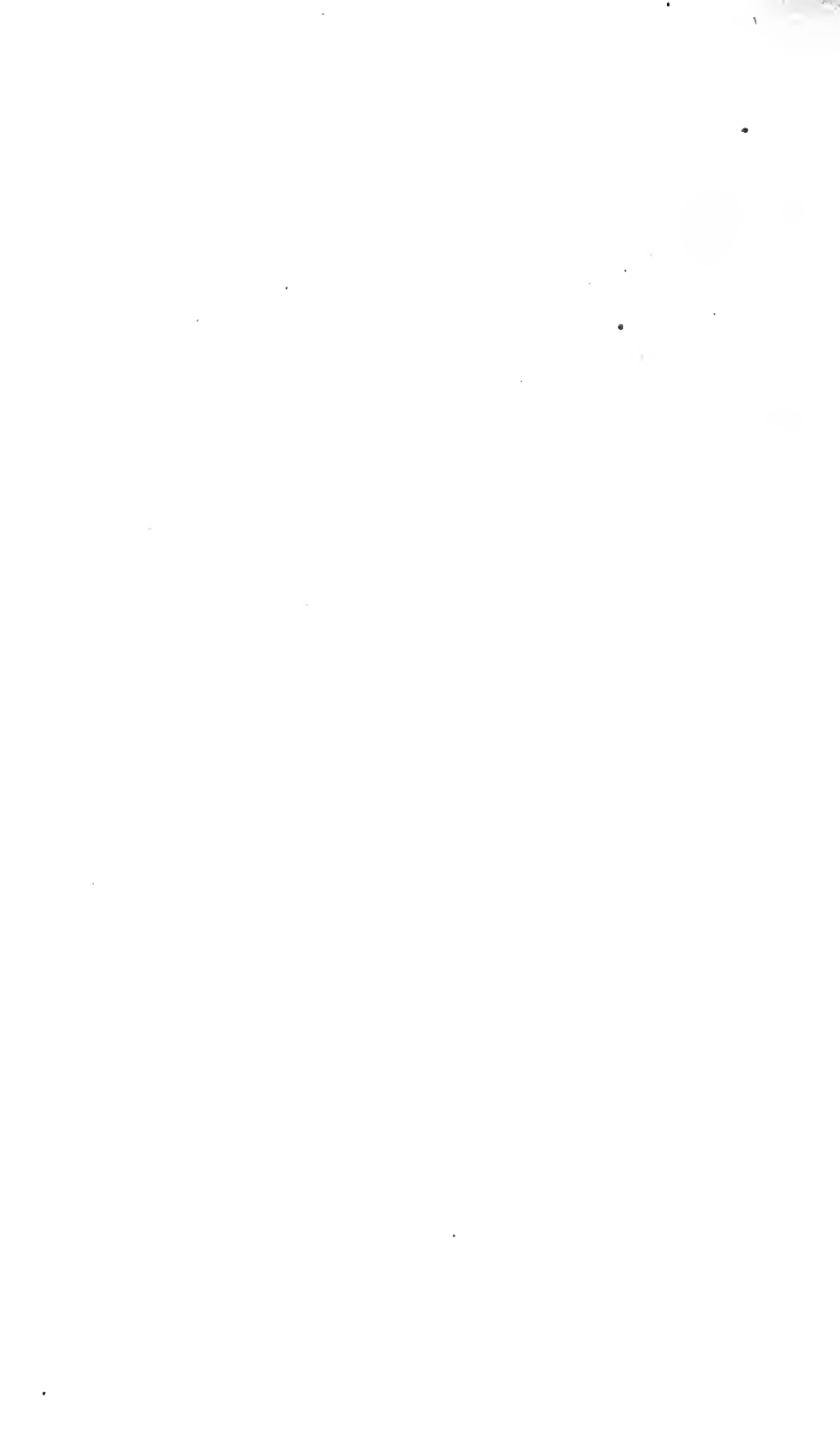
*It is true that commerce with other countries increases the value of land here, but it increases the value of the land in every place we trade with to an equal degree and the two actions compensate each other.

and in which the people were not represented at all); and they will not allow anyone to dig them out except upon the payment of heavy rents, royalties, and wayleaves. The taxation of land values applied here would force the landowner to allow capital and labour access to these minerals. Applied to the towns, it would force the landowner to let land at a fair rent for building houses, offices, shops, factories, &c. Thus the taxation of land values would break down the power at present possessed by a few thousand individuals of preventing labour and capital having access to natural opportunities, and thereby would give an enormous impetus to trade and commerce; it would transform the unemployed, and those working long hours and for a mere pittance in our large cities, to producers under healthful conditions in the country; and by thus fixing the minimum wage as that which a man could make by producing primaries for himself, combined with the relief this transference of labour from the towns to the country would give to the labour market, it would assist in securing an equitable division of wealth.

We have so far been dealing with the taxation of land upon its proper value at present. The result of the development of industry would, however, be to vastly increase that value; power should be given the various local authorities to tax back for the community the whole of that "unearned increment." Mark the result. Every development of communication between different places adds a corresponding value to the land there; every improvement, such as lighting, good roads, sanitation, parks, libraries, &c., which add to the desirability of a place for residential, and consequently business purposes, adds a corresponding value to the land there; and so long as these improvements are judiciously decided upon and economically carried out, they can be effected free of expense, since the increased value of the land

will recoup the outlay. What a prospect of comfort and contentment is here opened up, and all proceeding from a simple act of natural and just legislation! Time will not permit me to say more, but I trust that what I have said may be the means of directing the attention of the members of this Society to this question, and if anyone wishes to pursue the subject further he will find all these points very fully dealt with in the writings of Mr. Henry George.

[Much of the above paper was subsequently reprinted in the *Financial Reform Almanack* for 1892.]



MARCUS AURELIUS, THE STOIC.

By G. H. RENDALL, M.A.

[References, where not defined, are to the *Thoughts* of Marcus.]

IN a previous paper I sought to trace the historic rise and progress of Stoicism. Born amid the downfall of Greek civic liberties and the reaction from the loftiest syntheses of Greek philosophy, Stoicism, in the world of thought, was the analogue of the period of the Diadochi. Greek morality was built on *civic* bases; following on Socrates and Plato, the Stoics enlarged the city to the world, and, discarding the smaller unity, formulated morality in terms of the individual and the universe. In its Greek phase Stoicism remained chiefly, if not wholly, scholastic, engaged for the most part in problems of grammar and logic and dialectic, relying alike for its physics and its psychology upon logical definition and induction, rather than upon observation of phenomena or of life. Even in ethics it found argued paradox more attractive and convincing than acceptance of plain facts of experience and consciousness.

With its transplantation to Rome in the second century before Christ, this temper changes. The Roman genius had no aptitude for scholastic or metaphysical discussions. The robust and impatient materialism of Lucretius was, in effect, the denial of metaphysic. To Romans, the metaphysic of Plato or Aristotle was meaningless. The quick and trained intelligence of Cicero could only imperfectly assimilate, or rather report, metaphysical distinctions familiar to Greek schools: the Latin language was incapable of giving them

expression. Thus the new Stoicism of Rome is carelessly eclectic in its assimilation and presentation of Stoic dogma, and its whole interest centres directly upon *ethics*, which the founders of the school had indeed regarded as paramount, yet as attained by processes of reasoned physic and dialectic. To its capacity for this treatment Stoicism owed its survival; like most systems of philosophy that enjoy continuous life for centuries, and bear transplantation into new terms and conditions and surroundings, it survived not so much as an intellectual system, which, with advancing or decaying knowledge, is almost certain to require restatement, but as an ethical interpretation of life and of essential human relationships. If in the process it lost in distinctiveness of intellectual vision, it gained in moral efficaciousness. Becoming less of a system and a creed, it became more of an ethos and a life. And with the change, its range of power extended: Cato and Brutus, Thrasea and Seneca, Epictetus and M. Aurelius, aristocrat and patriot, republican and courtier, slave and emperor, represent a wider compass and a deeper impress on the world than the founders of the school prognosticated. Their tenets fertilised anew upon the soil of Roman virtue.

In the Neo-Stoicism of Marcus Aurelius there is a complete abandonment of the old scholastic severity and coherence of Zeno or Chrysippus. In logic, formal or metaphysical, he took no interest; he turned impatiently from grammar and from rhetoric; it was solely from the ethical side, and there only within a very limited range, that physics retained an interest for him. His primary obligation to Rusticus, his tutor in philosophy, was to have been weaned from sophistic or speculation;¹ his crowning thanksgiving to the gods is that he did not 'puzzle himself with metaphysics, or become engrossed in scientific speculation.'²

¹ i. 7. ² i. 17.

His distrust of processes of logic is frankly owned. 'Things are so wrapped in veils that, to gifted philosophers not a few, all certitude seems unattainable. Nay, to the stoics themselves such attainment seems precarious, and every act of intellectual assent is fallible.'¹ In a word, 'Remember this, that life-happiness lies in a very few things. Baffled at logic and at physics, despair not therefore to be free, self-respecting, social-minded, and tractable to god.'²

In his physics, Marcus is content with reiterating the broad alternative:³ either atoms, that is, chaos—or a divine unity, that is, Kosmos. And the choice is determined always, not by a physical, but by a *moral* attestation. 'Either an ordered universe, or else a welter of confusion; assuredly, then, a world-order. Or think you that order subsisting within yourself is compatible with disorder in the all?'⁴ 'The world is either a welter of alternate combination and dispersion, or a unity of order and providence. If the former, why crave to linger on in such a random medley and confusion? why take thought for anything except the eventual 'dust to dust?' But, on the other alternative, I reverence, I stand steadfast, I find heart in the power that disposes all.'⁵

In his theology there is the same eclectic indifference. 'God' or 'gods' are used with equal frequency, and without logical distinction. He is equally ready to adopt polytheistic, theistic, monotheistic, or pantheistic phraseology and modes of thought; all alike portend nothing more than some divine and spiritual power, originating or still immanent in the successions of phenomena. Whether the movement is due to an original creative impulse, withdrawn after communicating the first momentum, or whether it is sustained by continuous divine action, it is needless to determine.

¹ v. 10. ² vii. 67. ³ ii. 3, vi. 10, &c. ⁴ iv. 27.

⁵ vi. 10, and cf. ix. 39, x. 1.

The relation of God or gods to men is treated with like agnostic indecision. The very existence of God can be held in the balance without perturbation. 'In departing from this world, if indeed there are gods, there is nothing to be afraid of; for gods will never implicate you in what is evil. But if there are no gods, or if they do not concern themselves with men, why live on in a world devoid of gods and devoid of providence?'¹ No system of ethics could be more calmly undogmatic, or feel less need of intellectual conviction or assurance in interpreting the scheme of things. As Epictetus had said—In religion affirm nothing, deny nothing; hope.

A more specific illustration of the same intellectual indifference may be taken from the province of psychology. The old schoolmen held explicit and coherent views upon the nature of the soul (ψυχή). Spiritual entities were unknown to their materialistic scheme: it was a fine corporeal essence, resident for the term of life in the bodily organism of man. By nature indestructible, it was not annihilated at death, but reabsorbed into the world-soul, of which it formed a part, and within which it possibly retained (so some opined) continued individuality. At the ἐκπύρωσις—the final conflagration of the present world-order—if not before, independent existence of any kind ceased. From this coherent doctrine of soul Marcus wavers amid conflicting compromises. Unlike the old schoolmen, he does not limit 'soul' to man; beside the intellectual or rational soul of man, he allows the existence of irrational soul (ψυχὴ ἄλογος) in beasts.² And regarding man's soul, he stands in unconcerned doubt. He contemplates annihilation, post-existence with or without preservation of individual identity, and even, it might seem, metempsychosis³ or transmigration, with equal equanimity. Life is unaffected by such speculations. Death

¹ ii. 11. ² ix. 9, x. 33. viii. 25.

is a step in nature's course, which it is childish¹ to regard with fear. 'You embark, you make life's voyage, you come to port: step out. If for another life, the other world, be sure, has its gods. If out of all sensation, then pains and pleasures will solicit you no more.'² Or again—'He who fears death, fears either loss of sensation or change of sensation. But if sensation ceases, you will feel no evil; if sensation is changed in kind, you will be a changed creature, and will not cease to live.'³

Thus on the serious side, he represents the eclectic temper of an age that lived upon the resources of the past, an age of culture, of criticism, of retrospection, of compromise, that pieced together such fragments of old thought as accorded with taste and predilection, with very faint insistence upon intellectual firmness or coherence. Plutarch, the gentle Platonist, adopts precepts of the Academy or of the Porch with amiable appreciation; Lucian twits all philosophies alike with banter of quick-witted persiflage; and the lettered public read both with amused or tolerant zest. Similarly after quoting with approval from table-talk of Epicurus, Marcus concludes—'To be loyal to philosophy, under whatever circumstances, is a motto for all schools alike.'⁴ 'One at core, if not in creed'⁵ is his motto of reassurance, which he carried into the sphere of religious observance, when at Athens he submitted himself to the Eleusinian initiations, and when at the great *lectisternium* preceding his Marcomannic campaign of 167 A.D. he summoned priests from every quarter of the world, and included all foreign rituals in his seven days' lustration of the capital.

He is an outcome of Hellenised Rome, the historical combination that made him possible. For the first time we have a Roman emperor who writes—and writes, be it

¹ ² iii. 3. ³ viii. 58. ⁴ ix. 14. ⁵ xi. 8.

observed, his inner and familiar thoughts, self-communings—in Greek. It is a step onward in that process which finally transferred the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium. Earlier emperors, from Augustus downwards, tricked their letters or their talk with patches of Greek phrase: Claudius gave Greeks a place in official circles, and even spoke Greek before the Senate: Nero and Domitian went further still in inoculating the imperial court and capital with fashions of Greek profligacy. But Latin literature still spoke with power in the histories of Tacitus, in the letters of the younger Pliny, in the Institutes of Quintilian, in the satire and the epigram of Juvenal and Martial. With Hadrian Roman literature died out, except indeed in the specialised department of Law, in which the line of the great Imperial jurists now begins with Iulianus and Pomponius, followed by Ulpian and the famous Gaius. After Suetonius, history falls into the hands of shallow and second-hand epitomists; oratory dwindled into pedantries of rhetoric; Roman philosophy breathed her last in Seneca; poetry was dead. The resuscitation of Latin literature came eventually, not from Rome, but from Africa and the Christian church. For the time being, Roman literature was replaced by Greek. The age of Hadrian has the character of a renaissance, and in Europe renaissance ever comes from Greece. The boyhood and youth of Marcus were passed as it were in the precincts of the court. It was the age of Hadrian, when Rome had reached the very zenith of material pomp and affluence. For every product of opulence and luxury her markets were the emporium of the world; for leisured indolence and lavish fashion she was undisputed queen. Earlier emperors, and above all the great builders of the Flavian house, had metamorphosed the city into marble; the Forum was a blaze of temples, porticoes, basilicas; the Cæsars' palaces coroneted the heights of the

Palatine; the Golden House of Nero had been superseded by the yet more stupendous circles of the Colosseum; the Mausoleum of Hadrian rose in marble under the eyes of the boy Marcus; forums, baths, theatres, aqueducts, vied with each other in architectural magnificence. Among all the remains of Pagan opulence, there is none which so overpowers the imagination with sense of profusion of scale, as Hadrian's suburban villa, still in its ruins covering some eight square miles, with its maze of triclinia, audience-chambers, baths, and colonnades, paved with mosaic, ceiled and enriched with scroll or tracery or arabesque, its fountains of porphyry, its fishponds and its lakes, its mimic landscapes reproducing nature's choicest handiwork—vales of Tempe, ravines of Styx, harbours of Canopus—and everywhere the niches and the thrown or vacant pedestals eloquent of that last after-bloom of sculpture, the Roman renaissance of Greek and of Egyptian art, which in its Antinous created the one permanent art-type that paganism, in its decadence, was able to evolve. But this material culture was exotic, not home-grown. And on the literary side this is yet more signally true. Hadrian himself and Suetonius, as well as the most notable stylists of this and the succeeding generation, Fronto and Apuleius, employ Greek upon occasion; while literature in any serious sense passes into the hands of European or Asiatic Greeks, of Plutarch Appian and Arrian, of Lucian in *belles lettres*, and Galen in the field of medical science and philosophy. It is an age of salaried rhetoricians, grammarians, retailers of philosophy, antiquarians, and triflers, an age neither of creation nor erudition, but of pretentious and self-complacent culture, dead to the instincts and canons of true art. The absence of *poetry* is one sign of exhausted imagination, of an age destitute alike of matter and gift for utterance. Apart from dilettante trifles, the reign of Hadrian never breaks even into song, far less into severer efforts of

the muse. After him even this shallow fount runs dry : it is questionable¹ if a single poem of the smallest literary moment can be claimed for the period of the Antonines. Prose drops to the perverse and tasteless euphemism of Fronto and the bizarre conceits of Apuleius. Enervated rather than vitalised by foreign stimulants, the intellectual vigour of Rome (no less than its physical) was fast becoming sterilised, and through various stages of brain-softening and garrulous decay passing to extinction. Among the higher manifestations of culture, in the same breath with artistic or other proficiency, Marcus enumerates 'the bare possession of troops of slaves,'² reminding us how his contemporaries of light and leading kept their slave establishment of painters, gem-cutters, grammarians, or philosophers, just as the wealthy of to-day may collect libraries, or pictures, or blue china, to satisfy themselves and others of their superior refinement. But it is impossible that inspiration or recreation should come from culture that is a mere elegance and appanage of wealth, a culture not of taste but luxury, contrived only for display and pleasure, servile and sycophant in its executants, a culture designed for amiable dilettanti or enervated debauchees, whose pursuits and pleasures were the high-class equivalent for the *panem et circenses* of a pampered and pauperised mob.

Such is the general setting of the age, against which Marcus stands in high relief. Marcus is in a manner the epitome of philosophic Roman Paganism. Greek draperies and accent do not obscure the Roman heredity and type. 'Every hour staunchly, as a Roman and a man, resolve to do the work in hand.'³ And again, under thought of coming death—'Give the god within you the control of what you are—a man, a Roman, a commander; you have held the van; you are as one who waits for the retreat from life to sound;

¹ Perhaps the *Pervigilium Veneris*. ² vi. 14. ³ ii. 5.

keep a brave face; self-complete without others' aid, self-complete without peace which is in others' gift. Upright, not uprighted.'¹ The word Roman was dear to him, and meant much. His true vein was historical; a sad, fond reverence for the past breaks through his thoughts continually. The old names, Camillus Caeso Volesus,² have a pleasant savour in his ear; in his exile in the camp he deplores that he will never again return to his note-books and chronicles of ancient Rome and Greece.³ He is moulded upon Roman lines of civic loyalty, expressed in strenuous rectitude and dogged resolution—Roman in repression of affections, Roman in recognition of law, Roman in tenacity of imperial aim, Roman in self-effacement for service of the State.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento—
hae tibi erunt artes—pacificque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

Though descended of Spanish stock, his forefathers for three generations had imbibed the high traditions of the trained and loyal officials, by whom the Roman empire was administered. His grandfather, Annius Verus, thrice held the consulship, and dying left on the little Marcus an abiding impression of dignified official suavity.⁴ His father died as prætor, when Marcus was an infant in the cradle. But his tutelage for empire was passed under his uncle Antoninus. Adopted as his son and prospective heir at seventeen, for twenty-three years learning, aiding, and at last sharing the responsibilities of empire, he found in Antoninus his ideal prince. The longest single section⁵ in the *Thoughts* is a recital of his virtues. Another section summarises them thus—'See that you be not be-Cæsared, steeped in that dye. Keep yourself simple, good, sincere, a friend to justice, god-fearing,

iii. 5. ² iv. 33. ³ iii. 14. ⁴ i. 1. ⁵ i. 16.

considerate, affectionate, and strenuous in duty. Respect the gods ; save men. Life is short, and the earthly life has but one fruit, inward holiness and social acts. In all things the disciple of Antoninus. Remember his resolute championship of reason, his unvarying equability, his holiness, his serenity of look, his affability, his dislike of ostentation, his keenness for certitude about the facts ; how he bore unjust reproaches without a word ; how he was never in a hurry ; how he gave no ear to slander ; how accurately he appraised characters and actions ; never fault-finding, nor timid, nor suspicious, nor pedantic ; how frugal were his requirements in house and bed and dress and food and service ; how industrious he was, and how long-suffering. Remember his constancy and evenness in friendship, his forbearance to outspoken opposition, his cheerful acceptance of correction ; and how god-fearing he was, though without superstition. Remember all this, that so your last hour may find you with a conscience clear as his.'¹ In Antoninus there emerged the new type of the Imperial *administrator*. Residing constantly in Rome, or at his Lorium villa, within an easy drive of the metropolis, he gave himself without intermission to the supervision of law, finance, police, public works, and all the endless cares of imperial and departmental administration. It was in this assiduous, watchful, indefatigable school that Marcus Aurelius learned the art of government. For the Antonine period, in fact as well as in profession, Rome embodied order and good government, and was a synonym for civilisation. The Golden Age had come when Plato's ideal found consummation, and philosophers sat upon the throne of empire. Throughout their vast dominions Roman rule meant for its subject peoples all, and more than all, that English rule implies for India, but on a far vaster scale, and shielding them from more dire alternatives.

¹ vi. 30.

Over 3000 miles in length, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, over 2000 miles in depth, from the wall of Antoninus to Mount Atlas and the Tropic of Cancer, comprising all western and southern Europe, with much of Germany and Austria, with Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria and Egypt, ran the Imperial writ. Over this huge domain, at this day groaning under its millions of armed men, and vexed continually with wars and rumours of war, stretched the vast *Pax Romana*; war was remembered only through the tramp of legionaries passing to far stations upon distant boundaries, and material and industrial progress pursued their course unmenaced and unapprehensive. For hand in hand with *Pax Romana* went the stately *Lex Romana*, with its guarantees for ordered free finance, its impartial security of person and of property, its *Appello ad Caesarem* of every Roman citizen. The august fabric of this far-reaching Empire, a living embodiment of the world-order or world-commonwealth which many prophets and righteous men had desired to see, but had not seen them, impressed itself upon the ethical imagination of the Emperor, and became in him a sustaining ideal of righteousness. Dreams of the holy men of Rome, of Stoic patriots—Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Brutus—were come to pass; ‘an equal commonwealth, based on equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and imperial rule respecting first and foremost the liberty of the subject.’¹ Rare words for the secret diary of an imperial pen! A world-franchise resting upon universal law, his world-citizenship is the dominant note of his ethics. “Love mankind; walk with God. ‘All things by law,’ saith the sage. It sufficeth to remember that ‘all things are by law.’” Near thirty of the best years of his life were given mainly to amending, enlarging, humanising administrative law—years vital in the history of Roman law, shaping it for the mission by which it

¹ i. 14.

survived the dissolution of the empire, tamed the barbarian, dominated mediæval life, and to this very day dispenses justice in half a hundred codes of the Old World and the New.

To these more obvious heirlooms of Roman Citizenship, Roman Peace, and Roman Law, it is just to add an influence that asserts itself less prominently in history or in literature—that namely of Roman religion. If Roman religion never clothed itself with the picturesque charm and variety of Greek, if it was less the plaything of fancy and the toy of art, and if on this account it is both less interesting and less familiar than the mythology of Greece, this is not because it was a less present or serious concern of life, but rather the reverse. It is because it was real and homely, a system (as the name testifies) of minute and scrupulous observance, of beliefs and forms and rituals and liturgies, adapted to each contingency of daily life, not only to the more sensational incidents of birth, and death, and marriage, but to the routines of the domestic round, the industries of house or field or wayfaring. Powers and presences, rather than persons, presided over each simplest action and phenomenon. In infancy, Vaticanus urged the baby's new-born cry; Fabulinus prompted his first word; Cuba rocked his cot. In riper age Iterduca set him on his road, and Domiduca gave him safe return. On the farm Terminus kept his boundary, Robigo mildewed his crop, Cloacina minded his drains, Sterquilinus gave virtue to his manure. Each operation of seed-time and harvest, fruit-gathering or vintage, was a cult and ordinance, a holy-day where worship mingled with the merrymaking. That influences from this punctilious and devout recognition of divine presences immanent in each part of nature laid hold upon the thought of Marcus, is no mere conjecture. A boyish letter records, among the incidents of a happy country day, attendance on his father at the

offering of sacrifice, and participation in the village merry-makings of the vintage time. At eight years old he was admitted to the Salian priesthood ; our earliest statue pictures him a youth offering sacrifice, and in his triumphal bas-reliefs he stands once more before the altar, a robed and sacrificing priest. Still a youth, 'he was observed to perform all his sacerdotal functions with a constancy and exactness unusual at that age ; was soon a master of the sacred music ; and had all the forms and liturgies by heart.' This strain of sympathy gave on one hand consecration and a certain un-Pagan holiness to life, and on another lent warmth and colour and reality to the material immanence of God in things, which Stoic Pantheism taught on harshly materialistic lines. In his *Thoughts*, life is not seldom regarded as a priesthood fulfilled in acts of ministration.¹

Such is the main setting in which, for proper understanding, we must contemplate the *Thoughts*. It remains to give some brief outline of personal temperament and phase.

His boyish days were innocently bright and wholesome, passed in the sunshine of a gentle mother's love, filled with simple delights dear to country boys—the morning gallop, the chase, the harvest-home. His nature was affectionate and docile, receptive rather than inventive ; not quick or sprightly in its humours ; girlishly loyal in its appreciations and devotions ; trustful, and somewhat leaning ; industrious, sincere, and with rare instinctive preference for the good. You might know him for an only child, of somewhat cloistered and precocious virtue, grave beyond his years, considerate and scrupulous. His grandfather would not let him go to school, for fear of bad companionships ; his tutors were excellent gentlemen, but not boyish-minded. Diognetus did well to give him a distaste for cock-fighting and horse-racing ; but should a child be trained to play at philosophic penances

¹ Cf. *Λειτουργικὴ* v. 31, vi. 28, x. 22, and see iii. 4 quoted later, pp. 189, 190.

of the plank-bed, the single rug, and such austerer disciplines of Stoicism ?¹ Worthy old Fronto was full of his own aches and pains—arms, shoulders, ankles, neck, loins, ‘toes of the left foot,’ throat, stomach, none of them escaped ; but it was a mistake to encourage young Marcus to write upon the progress of his cold and the composition of his gargle. It made him old before his time, and fostered the sadness and bitterness of introspection. A boy bust of him stands in the Museum of the Capitol, full of engaging modesty, candour, and gravity. The rounded chin and the somewhat full pensive eyes are touched with sentiment, and suggest already possibilities of sadness : and the face is an interesting forecast of the developments of maturer age, where the lips have straightened into lines more sadly resolute, where the brow has broadened with imperial cares, and where a fixed and haunting weariness has entered into the far-off gaze that looks compassionately across human littleness.

At seventeen he emerged from boyhood, and entered upon the responsibilities of rule, the weight of which grew heavier with each successive year, till the failing body sank under premature exhaustion. The *Thoughts* are all an utterance of his later years. ‘Thou art an old man ; death is at hand,’² he says : and again, ‘Life’s course is well-nigh finished ;’³ ‘thy life’s history is now fulfilled, and thy service accomplished.’⁴ Such phrases are recurrent. They were years of failing health, of nerves and brain shaken by hard use, of solitude, of overpowering solitudes and anxious forecasts, and the *Thoughts* reveal all the sad background of the impassive calm. Duty and self-repression are the keynotes of the character. His sense of duty was burdensomely, mischievously self-exacting. He made the mistake of never taking holiday. ‘In relaxation, be sober,’⁵ was his code. Incredible as it sounds, it is on record that for twenty-three

¹ i. 6. ² ii 2. ³ ii. 6. ⁴ v. 31. ⁵ iv. 26.

years of work by the side of Antoninus, he spent two nights only under a different roof. His constant presence at the seat of war during the last thirteen years of his life attests the same tenacity. And duty with him was anxious, sensitive, self-questioning, prone to sense of failure and shortcoming. Tenacious of moral ends, in his methods he was never masterful; no spur of resentment or ambition made self-assertion pleasant. He had not a single autocratic impulse, but found himself established in place and power, of which he could not honourably divest himself. On the announcement of the revolt of Cassius he at once proffered his abdication; the acceptance of it would have been not a mortification, but a relief. He was painfully sensitive to the compromises, the concessions, the seeming inconsistencies that the imperial position entailed. To my mind this is at least one possible account of his preference for the camp above the Court and Capitol. Does not this sound like it? 'To go on being what you have been hitherto, to lead a life still so distracted and polluted, were stupidity and cowardice indeed, worthy of the mangled gladiators, who, torn and disfigured, cry out to be remanded till the morrow, to be flung once more to the same fangs and claws . . . Commit yourself to good professions, and if stand fast in them you can, stand fast—as one translated indeed to Islands of the Blessed. But if you find yourself falling away and beaten in the fight, be a man and get away to some quiet corner where you can still hold on, or in the last resort take leave of life, not angrily but simply freely modestly, achieving this much in life, brave leaving of it.'¹ There is a torture to which fair-minded, scrupulous and sympathetic natures are most subjected, the consciousness of energies exhausted and desires frustrated through considerate subservience to the claims of others. To work with unworthy instruments, to let second-bests

¹ x. 8.

alone, to abstain from forceful corrections and interferences, to suffer patiently self-seeking and intrigue, to crave for peace and spend his years in hunting down Sarmatians, to preside at the tedious butchery of gladiatorial games with the heart that cried 'how long, how long?',¹ to turn forgiving eyes and unreproachful lips upon the perilous debaucheries of Lucius and the reckless infidelities of Faustina, to cling to the belief in reason against the day-by-day experience of unreason, violence and greed, patiently resolutely ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι 'to endure and to refrain,' to live the life of disinterested renunciation, and bear to be thwarted, suspected, maligned and misinterpreted, this was no easy bearing of the cross. 'To be misunderstood even by those whom one loves,' writes Amiel, 'is the cross and bitterness of life. It is the secret of that sad and melancholy smile on the lips of great men, which so few understand.' That is the human revelation of the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius. His was no cold impassive nature. The animal passions were indeed not violent, but his emotional nature was rich and sensitive. His lover-like attachment to his mother,² his 'plebeian' affection for his children,³ sufficiently avouch it. There was an outward calm, a trained impassiveness of countenance that imposed upon observers. 'Keep the body still,' he writes,⁴ 'and avoid contortions,' 'feature and gesture, and exterior adornment must obey the ruling of the mind,'⁵ and historians tell us how he never changed his countenance in sorrow or in joy. When at the outbreak of the war he lost his little twin-son, Annius, Rome noted the unmoved face; but the reader of the *Thoughts* knows how the loss of a dear child recurs as the type instance⁶ of a poignant grief, and how once and again is written down the desolate citation

¹ vi. 46. ² cf. vi. 12. ³ cf. i. 13, 17. ⁴ vii. 60. ⁵ vii. 37, cf. 24.

⁶ i. 8; ix. 40; x. 34, 35.

Lives are reaped like ears of corn
One is spared, another shorn.

Though I and both my sons be spurned of God,
There is, be sure, a reason.¹

But it is not indeed in the realm of personal affections that the accent of emotion speaks most audibly; there are men, who pass for unemotional, who wear a face of practised calm, whose more intense emotions do not move in *personal* channels, so much as in passionate often unuttered cravings for causes and principles and moral issues, and for the suffering humanity in which these find impersonation. This has been the temper of reformers, patriots, philanthropists—say of Howard, Mazzini, Wilberforce—and sometimes in ebullitions of disdain, sometimes in contrite aspiration, sometimes in yearning apostrophe, its note sounds in the *Thoughts* of Marcus, and redeems them from frigidity. ‘Dear City of Cecrops, saith the poet: wilt not thou say Dear City of God?’² “Earth is in love with rain and holy aether loves!” Yes the world-order is *in love* with fashioning whatever is to be. To the world-order I profess—Thy love is mine.’³ On this accent of emotion I shall touch again.

We come to the *Thoughts* themselves.—The pervading impression is one of weary, but unembittered, isolation, sustained upon unconquerable loyalty to the highest thought of duty. A voice crying from lonely heights of uncompanied monarchy, where, amid the uncongenial clash of arms, amid alarms and stratagems and war’s worst savageries, cowing and taming the ruthless lawless hordes of the barbarians, through sore depressions, in weakness of body and often in distress of pain, a soul that longed for peace and saw far off the Dlectable Mountains, consented to bear the weight of the world’s sovereignty and do yeoman duty for the deliverance of Rome

¹ vii. 40; xi. 6. ² iv. 23. ³ x. 21.

and the saving of mankind. There is no striving for literary effect, and the style has neither polish nor vivacity. Set among Stoic formulas, you will indeed find homely adages.

*Never be ashamed of being helped.*¹

*Look within.*²

*Face facts.*³

*Evil comes often of not doing as well as doing.*⁴

*Men exist for one another: better them or bear with them.*⁵

*The man's worth is what his aims are worth, no more.*⁶

Sighs of weariness escape, and notes of *ennui* deliberate and sad.

*Soon you will have forgotten all; soon all will have forgotten you.*⁷

*Think of bathing and its accessories—oil, sweat, filth, foul water, all objects of disgust. Such too is life in all its parts, and all with which it has to do.*⁸

*For the thrown stone, it is no harm to drop, nor good to rise.*⁹

*Well-doing, ill report: it is the King's portion.*¹⁰

Accents of self reproach intrude. *Rightly served—you prefer becoming good to-morrow to being good to-day.*¹¹

While here and there some nobler aphorism strikes a more imaginative or poetic note.

Live with the gods.

Live as on a mountain.

No star wears a veil.

But the *Thoughts* take their place in literature not upon claims of style or treatment, but as autobiography of the best kind, the articulate revelations of a soul communing with itself, at a time and under circumstances that render their ethical and personal interest unique. It is a restful and

¹ vii. 7. ² vi. 3. ³ iv. 11. ⁴ ix. v. ⁵ viii. 59. ⁶ vii. 3.
⁷ vii. 21. ⁸ viii. 24. ⁹ viii. 20; ix. 17. ¹⁰ vii. 36. ¹¹ viii. 22.

ennobling spirit, if somewhat sad, with which to have communion—free from complexity or spasms or surprises, in whose presence defect of duty and all mean or brutalising passions sink abashed. It is in profound accord with the grave lineaments the sculptor has transcribed for us in stone,¹ of reflective and enduring fortitude, not so wholly sad but that they are tinged with some far off vision of fruitions not yet revealed, yet possibly in store for humankind: acquainted sadly with the worth and worthlessness of Cæsarean estate; not unaware of low motives or mean men, yet bent on dispensation of an even justice to the hypocrite, the malignant or the coward; ‘a priest and minister of gods,’² passing in an imperial calm the proffered homage of barbarians and the echoing plaudits of the crowd, unelated, unilluded, hearkening attently ‘to the deity within,’ so ‘following the footsteps of reason and of God.’³

Throughout the *Thoughts* the moral standpoint is imperial. The fundamental principles are universal, but the applications are personal; a Cæsar speaks, the world’s Emperor, discoursing with himself and to himself of duties to *equals* and duties to *inferiors*, amid close community of sentiment and phraseology. This is the salient contrast between Epictetus the freedman, and Marcus Aurelius the Emperor. How could Epictetus, reviewing life, have numbered among its blessings, ‘that he had never been called upon to borrow from another,’⁴ or have interpreted a Socratic dictum of ‘the worst perdition’ to mean ‘receiving favours out of one’s power to return?’⁵ The virtues commended, the vices eschewed, in range, in treatment, in method of regard, in distribution of emphasis, presuppose the position of authority. The *Thoughts* speak not of *claims*, but *duties*: justice for in-

¹ In the reliefs from the Triumphal Arch of Marcus Aurelius, now preserved in the Palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol. ² iii. 11. Compare the scenes of Sacrifice and Pardon on the relief. ³ xii. 31. ⁴ i. 17. ⁵ xi. 25.

stance is not the claim or the defence of the weak, but the obligation of the strong. How regally the law of justice is applied in a reflection such as this; 'We are not true to justice if we centre upon secondary things, or allow ourselves to be imposed upon, or to draw hasty and incorrect conclusions.'¹ Throughout the emphasis is laid on virtues demanded of high place—on forbearance, consideration, courtesy, on open-mindedness, on sense of duty, on taking pains, on charities of thought and generous allowances, and on such refinements of morality as wise selection amid competing claims, as husbandry and right proportionment of powers, as due reserve of leisure for recreation of the inner life. The pages abound in moral inventories, so to say, of virtuous requirement. In his opening book² Marcus delineates at full length the form of the 'Ideal Prince' as seen in Antoninus; again, as his task nears its end,³ he summarises the whole duty of man in 'nine rules' for inward guidance. But in preference to these fuller presentments, let us take (and we may choose almost at haphazard) a briefer enunciation of his moral aims.

'Be your thoughts simple and in charity, such as befit a social being, who eschews voluptuous or self-indulgent imaginings, or jealousy or malice or suspicion, or any other mood which you would blush to own. A man so minded, whose master aim is the pursuit of virtue, is a very priest and minister of the gods, true to that inward and implanted power, which keeps a man unsoiled by pleasure, invulnerable to pain, free from all touch of arrogance, innocent of all baseness, a combatant in the greatest of all combats—which is the mastery of passion, steeped in justice to the core, and with his whole heart welcoming all that befalls him as his portion: seldom, and solely under stress of some unselfish call, does he regard what others say or do or think. In action his own

conduct, that alone, is his concern ; and the web of his own destiny is the sufficient occupation of his thoughts ; action he makes high, convinced that destiny is good ; for his apportioned destiny sweeps man on with the vaster sweep of things.¹ Or—fused at a higher temperature than usual—this utterance. ‘This is the way of salvation—with one’s whole heart to do what is just and say what is true ; and one thing more, to make life a perpetual feast by heaping good on good so close, that not a chink is left between.’²

The loftiest and most cardinal belief set forth by Stoicism was the Oneness of the great World-order, of which we are ourselves a part—the unity of Nature, as an expression of one spiritual life. Implicitly bound up with this is the central injunction of Stoicism, as a guide to life—Conformity to Nature. ‘Run ever the short way, and the short way is that which is conformed to nature.’³ ‘To will the will of nature,’⁴ was Marcus’ definition of philosophy. Upon the precise meaning of the formula, interpreted so variously by various schools, it would be easy to descant. But without pausing to define or criticise the term ‘Nature,’ let us pass at once to ethical illustrations of thought, with this one—I think, illuminating—reminder. In Stoic vocabulary, nature is φύσις, and its first and fundamental thought is ‘growth :’ there are passages where it must be rendered ‘organism’ or ‘growth ;’ and it is this ‘growth’ of the Universe, this ‘stream of tendency that makes for good,’ to which we are called to conform ourselves. In limitations as well as in creed, Marcus has very much in common with the evolutionary school of moralists. His ‘nature’ is their ‘evolution.’

To the Stoics the world is a Kosmos, a mighty order, animated, directed, and sustained by one informing spirit. Through all runs unity of action and of impulse. Such is the

¹ iii. 4. ² xii. 29. ³ iv. 51. ⁴ x. 15, v. 9.

attestation of reason and of conscience.¹ Man, like all else, is a part of the God-animated God-pervaded whole. 'Do everything, even the smallest, mindful of the common bond that links human and divine together. Neither can there be right human action without reference to the divine, nor conversely.'² Man's function is to recognise his place and partnership in the great order, to own the fact and answer to it, to contribute his proper share to the work and operation of the whole. Duty becomes simple fulfilment of appointed function: our note in the great world concert. 'The horse runs, the hound hunts, the bee makes honey; so the man that does his duty does not raise a shout, but passes on to the next act, as a vine to the bearing of its clusters for next season.'³ From this view of the great world-scheme, this thought of each man as an atom of a corporate whole, result many corollaries for life and conduct. They form the fabric of the thought of Marcus Aurelius.

1.—*The individual is portion of a whole*, with whose work and well-being his own work and being are bound up. This is true of every man. Therefore are all men knit together by indissoluble ties. And the bond of man to man, by virtue of intellectual community, is closer than that of man to any other part of nature. As earth gravitates to earth, air seeks for air, and fire ascends to fire, so man draws towards man. 'Among the lower and irrational animals, bees swarm, cattle herd, birds nest together, all owning forms of love. So among rational beings there are societies and friendships, homes and communities, even in war compacts and terms of truce. Even among distant bodies a secret unity exists, as of star to star. None but intellectual beings ignore the impulse of attraction: and though they would escape it, yet are they caught and overtaken: nature is too strong. Watch and you will see: sooner you will find some

¹ iv. 27, 40; vii. 9 and *passim*. ² iii. 13. ³ v. 6.

particle of earth detached from other earth, than man isolated from man.'¹ Thus is proclaimed the social tie between man and man, which is among the loftiest attainments of Stoic teaching. The seed of it was sown in Greece, and realised in the erection of the *πόλις*, the community or state, whose members all owned free and mutual obligation. There man looked out beyond himself, beyond the family, and owned himself one of a society. Athens laid hold of the great thought, and disengaged it for the service of the morals. Upon it, upon this recognition of the civic bond, the fabric of Greek morality was built. The Stoic teachers seized it, struck off the limitations, and grasped the universal community and brotherhood of man. 'This being so, we are fellow-citizens, and share a common citizenship; the world is, as it were, a city.'² 'Dear City of Cecrops! saith the poet. And wilt thou not say, Dear City of God!'³ This bond of human brotherhood claims to pervade all life. It forbids selfish isolation of interest. 'What is not good for the swarm is not good for the bee.'⁴ It renders possible community of sentiment with every man. 'Enter into every man's Inner Self, and let every other man enter into thine.'⁵ It inspires, impels the life of active service. 'We are made for cooperation, as feet, as hands, as eyelids, as the upper and the lower teeth.'⁶ And this law of service is as binding on the Cæsar as on the churl.

The great bond too (it is a noble, reassuring thought) is inalienable. No temporary disclaimer or repudiation can annul it. 'Have you ever seen a dismembered hand, or foot, or head, lying severed from the body to which it belonged. Such does a man, so far as he can, make himself, if he rebels against what comes and isolates himself, or pursues self-seeking action. You are cast out from the great unity of nature, of which you are a vital part, and you

¹ ix. 9. ² iv. 4. ³ iv. 23. ⁴ vi. 54. ⁵ viii. 61. ⁶ ii. 1.

thereby dismember your own self. Yet here is this beautiful provision, that it is in your power to reenter the unity. No other part of the whole doth God privilege, when once severed and dismembered, to reunite. But consider the kindness of God, with which he has honoured man : he has put it in his power never to be sundered at all from the whole, and if sundered, then to rejoin it once more, and coalesce and resume his contributory place.’¹ Yet, ere we pass from it, observe the limitations. The term ‘brotherhood’ which I have used seems irresistible, but the Greek is *συγγενής*, denoting not an impulse of personal affection, but sympathy with kind ; such fellow-feeling as stirs us for man contrasted with the lower animals, or inspires the patriot or soldier to shed his blood for country or for clan. The Stoic enthusiasm of humanity enfolded the race at large ; its tether was as wide as the philanthropist’s, but it remained *impersonal*, and disclaimed all that effusion of individual yearning which is the mainspring of the new commandment, ‘Love one another.’

2. But again—*Man is a part of the great order* ! Yes, but how *small* a part ! Man the creature of a day, stands in the conflux of eternities—the phrase has been but borrowed by Carlyle—‘Behind the eternal void, beyond the infinite to come.’² ‘How small a fragment of infinite unfathomable time is assigned to any one of us ! In a moment it vanishes into eternity. And what a morsel of the sum of being, or of the sum of soul ! On what a grain of the whole earth you crawl ! Mindful of all this, regard nothing as of moment but to do as your own nature directs, to bear what universal nature brings.’³

3. But once again—*Man is part of a great whole*. In what relation stands part and whole, towards the common weal, ‘the health of the universe ?’ The Kosmos, the great order (so faith and reason would insist) is perfect. ‘All

¹ viii. 34. ² iv. 50, and frequently—iv. 4, v. 23, 24, ix. 32, &c. &c. ³ xii. 32.

that happens, happens rightly. Watch accurately and you will find it so.'¹ But yet there is the counter-evidence of life—sin, failure, and the misery that comes of both: the bad triumphant, the good unrewarded: the selfish seeming happy, the dutiful sorrowful and afflicted. How can these things be? The Christian had his answer. Here is the sphere of suffering; in this world there is tribulation—but there is another, for which no part of it is wasted or misapplied. *Here* the bondage of probation: but *there* 'our citizenship is in heaven.' The Stoic could not answer thus. He believed in no personal immortality. It was a dim peradventure, or else explicitly denied. Hence he was forced back upon another answer. The order of things is just and perfect. Yet life and experience cry out that it is cruel and full of pain. Two things then are possible. Either (1) the things that you count pain, are no pain at all, but only pain in seeming: or (2) your pain is but a contribution to the higher harmony. You suffer that it may go well with the universe. Both these solutions were admitted. The former gives us Stoic ἀπαθήσις—repression of the emotions, the latter the fatalistic acquiescence of Stoic equanimity. Virtue upon this showing becomes patient acceptance of the allotted destiny, not questioning its individual fitness or justice, but content to believe in some larger unseen, unapprehended rightness. The wise man must resign himself to pain, privation, martyrdom, death—as part of the great order to which his individual doom is of no account. With death or with extinction he has no right to quarrel. How is it compatible, asks the sage, with divine goodness or justice, that the noblest and the holiest should die and suffer absolute extinction? And the slow sad answer falls. 'If it indeed be so, be sure that had it been better otherwise, the gods would have had it so. . . . From

¹ iv. 10.

its not being so, be assured it ought not so to be. To put such questions is to arraign the justice of God.’¹

The second form of answer, forced as it seemed and arbitrary, at least found a more effectual response in the possibilities of human nature. Its purport was this: Do pain, suffering, wrong seem hard to bear and unjustly dispensed? The cure is in your hands—it lies within. ‘Get rid of the sense of injury, you get rid of the injury itself.’² ‘I have no right to vex myself; for neither do I vex another wilfully.’³ ‘Be as the headland against which the billows beat continually: but it stands fast till about its base the boiling breakers are lulled to rest. Say you, how unfortunate for me that this should have happened? Nay rather, how fortunate that, in spite of this, I own no pang, uncrushed by the present, unterrified at the future! The thing might have happened to anyone, but not everyone could have endured without a pang.’⁴ ‘No man can rob us of our will.’⁵ Thus does the Stoic attain the self-mastery, the tranquillity, the imperturbability which was his boast—by perfect self-containment, by denial of the validity and suppression of the action of natural emotion.

4. The independence of the individual will is argued also by a directer route. It did not indeed originate from the cosmical conception of Ethics, but it habitually claims corroboration thence. *Man is a part of the Great Order.* His partnership in it rests on the immanence of the Divine alike in him and it. He is himself ‘an offshoot of Zeus;’ within him is a particle of the divine—the God within, the deity implanted and ingrown.⁶ The relation of the individual to the whole is direct. It is his bounden duty to contribute to the health of the Universe. Hand cooperates indeed with hand, but mediately only, through the organism; so is it

¹ xii. 5. ² iv. 7. ³ viii. 42. ⁴ iv. 49. ⁵ xi. 36. ⁶ ii. 4, v. 27 and constantly.

with man, as a member of the Universe. Thus moral responsibility is direct, and is likewise isolated: it is from the Ego to the Kosmos. Between us and it nothing can intervene. The one thing needful is to harmonise our will with the motion of the Universe: and that possibility is secured to us by the constitution of the universe, by the directness and independence of relation between it and us. Our will stands above contravention of man, or thing, or vicissitude of destiny. 'The freehold of the mind none without can contravene: fire cannot touch it, nor steel, nor tyrant, nor contumely, nor any other thing; self-sphered it keeps its perfect round.'¹ This forced isolation, while guaranteeing individual independence, at the same time weakens altruistic obligation. If good is cosmical, so too is evil. Sin is regarded not as vicious or culpable, but as defective sensibility to motions of the Kosmos—a colour-blindness or dulness of the moral organ. This you may inform or quicken, but you cannot blame. 'He who would not have the bad do wrong, is like the man who would not have the fig-tree bear juice in her figs, or infants squall, or the horse neigh, or anything else that is in the order of things.'² 'Not to expect the worthless to do wrong is idiocy: it is asking an impossibility. To allow them to wrong others, and to claim exemption for yourself, is graceless and tyrannical.'³ 'Find fault with no one.'⁴ 'One thing only is of real worth, to live out life in truth and justice, with charity even to the false and the unjust.'⁵

5. *Man is a part of a larger whole.* It is an easy inference, that the elements of part and whole are homogeneous. The inference may be bent either way, to spiritualise the universe, or to materialise man. Human faculty may be read into things material, or man be bounded by the seeming limitations of matter. And as a fact both trains of inference

¹ viii. 41. ² xii. 16. ³ xi. 18. ⁴ xii. 12, &c. ⁵ vi. 47.

were indulged. To the first procedure the Stoics were partial. It was part of that rather ostentatious disparagement of sentiment, of that looking hard facts in the face, upon which they valued themselves. Marcus, following the humour of his school, is prone at times to nurse and fortify his conviction of the worthlessness of all things human and phenomenal. In reiterated diminutives, half-pitying and half-contemptuous, he dwells upon the sorry elements that make up man—muscle and meat, sinew and bone, artery and vein, breath and excrement, soul ‘an exhalation of the blood,’¹ ‘poor soul that carries everywhere its corpse.’² He applies the same weapon of material analysis to discredit spiritual or aesthetic emotions. ‘Just as we analyse the food we eat into the dead carcase of bird or beast, the purple robe we wear into sheep’s wool dipped in secretions of the shell fish, so should we do through the whole range of life; where the face of things enlists our admiration, we must strip them naked, see through their worthlessness, and so get rid of their pretensions.’³ ‘You will be disenchanted of the delights of song and dance and the pancratium, if once you decompose the harmony into its constituent notes and ask yourself one by one—Is this the spell I own? You will turn from each in disgust. Analyse dancing in the same way into successions of motions and rest; or similarly with the pancratium. . . . You have but to push analysis to the component parts, and you are disenchanted. Apply the process to life too as a whole.’⁴ In such passages, which are not rare, he is in chains to a pretentious logic, and seems in good faith to surrender the spiritual essence, which material analysis serves not to reveal but to annihilate. Unrebelliously he accepts the dreary conclusion that—as a modern writer puts it—‘the ultimate being of a Beethoven Sonata is but so many motions on the fiddle

¹ v. 33, vi. 15. ² ix. 24. ³ vi. 13. ⁴ xi. 2.

of the bow, so many scrapings of horse-hairs on the intestines of cats.'

But besides this there crops out at times a far more uncommon view, an inkling and suggestion that the true being of the whole is revealed by the inner consciousness of the part—passages which it would be hard to parallel from predecessors, and fraught with 'an accent of emotion' and a poetry of belief, that lent pathos to his customary self-restraint. Note the advance upon old Hellenism, and the anticipation of modern sentiment in passages like this. 'The cracks and crevices in bread-crust, though in one sense flaws in the baking, have yet a fitness of their own . . . Figs, at perfection, gape. In ripe olives the very nearness of decay lends its own beauty to the fruit. The bending ears of corn, the lion's scowl, the foam that flecks the wild boar's mouth, and many such like things add new beauty and appeal to the soul. . . . Deeper feeling for the adjustments of nature will bring with it ever new delight. . . . The old woman and the old man will have an ideal loveliness, as youth its ravishing charm, visible to eyes with skill to see, . . . revealed to him only who is in harmony with nature and her sincere familiar.'¹ Here is like 'pathetic fallacy' applied to life. 'Having lived your little span by nature's law, serenely greet your journey's end, as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing the branch that bare it and giving thanks to the tree which gave it life.'² So we are led to the acceptability of *death*.

6. Lastly then, *man is part of a greater whole*. The part passes, the whole abides. Death is the resumption of the part into the whole. As such, it is a normal incident in the flow of nature, in the contemplation of which fear is childish,³ and shrinking irrational. 'Think no scorn of

¹ iii. 2. ² iv. 48. ³ ii. 12.

death, but give it welcome; is not death too part of nature's will? As youth and age, as growth and prime, as the coming of teeth, and beard, and grey hairs; as begetting, and pregnancy, and bearing of children; as all other operations of nature, which life in its seasons brings to pass, even such is dissolution. Therefore, as a rational being, look death in the face without impatience or repugnance or disdain; wait for it as one of nature's operations.'¹ Such is the unchanging omnipresent mood. 'It is no hardship for the chest to be broken up, any more than to be put together.'² 'To the thrown stone it is no ill to drop, nor good to rise.'³ In death too, the resumption of the parts into the whole, the accidents of inequality and difference are done away. Death, the leveller, deals alike with doctor and sage, monarch and serf:⁴ 'death puts Alexander of Macedon and his stable-boy at one; received back into the seminal principles of the universe, or alike dispersed into atoms.'⁵

Throughout the *Thoughts*, funeral notes float round our ears, till the *Nunc Dimittis* of the Twelfth Book closes all—the funeral not of a soul only but an age.

This era has been designated 'the Age of Death,' the age when 'death obtained a new hold upon men's minds, and the problem of a life beyond death attained new significance.' In the history of Rome never had detachment from life been so common, never preoccupation with death so intimate, as at the close of the first century. The mood of Marcus in this matter is as it were a precursor of Monasticism. He stands, but half unconsciously, at the outgoings of an age, filled with a sense of transitoriness in all things human, of ages, empires, dynasties, as well as individuals, passing to dust and oblivion. The gloom of decadence was heavy on his soul: Rome, withered with the Plague, was bankrupt in purse, bankrupt in intellect, bankrupt even in animal vigour.

¹ ix. 3. ² vii. 23. ³ ix. 17. ⁴ iii. 3. ⁵ vi. 24.

There was no poet nor historian to tell the deeds of Marcus against the Sarmatians and the Marcomanni. For all the careful economies of Antoninus, when the barbarian invasion was announced, Marcus had to sell the household decorations of the palace to raise the needful funds. Decimated by plague, Italy could not recruit her legions but from the ranks of slaves and gladiators: the procreation of children seemed to fail. The face of the Campagna now began to assume the desolation of a place of tombs. It was from the deathbed of his little one, amid the groans of the stricken and the dying, when dead men lay unburied in the streets, that the Emperor passed to the seat of war. There under ever present thought of death he served his time, till the discharge was granted. It found him ready, thinking thus. 'No man is so fortunate, but that beside his death-bed there shall stand some welcoming the coming blow. He was earnest, say, and wise. Yet at the last will not one and another say in his heart—'Now let us breathe again, free of master pedagogue. True he was never hard on any of us, but I always felt that he was tacitly condemning us.' Such is the reward of earnestness. . . . As death draws near, solace your departure with the thought—I am leaving a life, in which my own associates, for whom I have so striven, prayed and thought, themselves wish for my removal, counting that they will perchance be more at ease. Why then should a man cling to longer sojourn here?'¹ The last words that left his pen were these: 'Depart then with serenity—serene as he who gives thee thy discharge.'²

His end was as his life, deliberate, unflinching, resolute. Six days of inability to eat or drink, through which the habit of duty still struggled with the failing body; the summons to his friends; words tinged with a sad irony upon the vanity of life; the passionless farewell 'Why weep for me?

¹ x. 36. ² xii. 36.

think of the army and its safety: I do but go on before. Farewell!’ Then the brief ravings of delirium—*haec luctuosi belli opera sunt*—then the covered head, and the everlasting rest. Rome forgot the Emperor in the man—‘Marcus my father! Marcus my brother! Marcus my son!’ said the bereaved citizens. From his funeral the ordinary lamentations were omitted. His staid calm spirit abode yet with his people—and men said to one another, ‘He whom the gods lent us, has rejoined the gods’—and to be without his image was accounted sacrilege. Marcus Aurelius survives in history as probably the loftiest exemplar of unassisted duty, which the annals of the world supply—supremely high, supremely sad, in his unshaken clinging to the noblest hypothesis of life he knew. He ‘lived upon a mountain.’

PRISONS, PRISONERS, AND IMPRISONMENT.

BY REV. F. BONTE,

LATE R. C. MINISTER, KIREDALE PRISON.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

A PRISON (*prehendo*) is in itself no more than a place of detention, and is represented exactly by *a hold, a keep*. The word gaol, or jail (*cage, cajole*), has the same meaning. But detention necessarily involves loss of liberty—a precious boon—separation from friends, and severance from this best of all worlds. Further, these inevitable concomitants of detention have generally been aggravated by many added privations and cruelties.

There are now various degrees of detention. The lightest is in an industrial school. Then follow the reformatory, the bridewell, the local prison, the convict prison. Transportation exists no longer. These different forms of detention, together with the character and treatment of criminals, present so vast a field of practical interest, that an International Prison Congress is periodically held to discuss and promote penal reform. Nay, there is hardly a prison whose historic interest alone would not furnish material for an essay. It is clear, then, that a paper like this can do little more than touch the fringe of the subject, by bringing a few leading points into relief. Yet broad and brief as our survey must needs be, it will not be wholly devoid of instruction.

Prisons may suggest to the thoughtless only dark dungeons in the past, and convenient engines of punishment in the present; but to the serious investigator of human interests, to him who views man, not as healthy, wealthy,

and wise, but, as he too frequently is, diseased, destitute, and depraved, they are an engaging topic of study. And at the present time this interest is greatly increased through the portentous growth of democratic sentiment. The proclamation of "the rights of man," the desire of the working classes for greater comfort, the yearning after social equality, the power of trades-unions, all tend to centre public attention on the lowly, the down-trodden, and the fallen.

To the moralist, prisons afford an opportunity for investigating the genesis of moral derangements and failures; whether depravity is due to wilfulness, heredity, hazard, or contamination; how imprisonment can be made to operate beneficially, and prisons converted into engines of morality and refinement. Next, sociologists will follow in them the evolution and development of society. Upon them depend, in a large measure, the repression of crime, the stability of public order, the security of person and personalty. It is not so much the distant and shadowy after-death penalties that restrain from crime. The policeman and the prison are the real terror of the evildoer. Remove these, and it will soon appear how impotent spiritual means and menaces are to keep evil passions in check. Again, the order of society and its general wellbeing repose on law, but what is the spring of this sustaining power of law? It is the penalty attached to its violation; and this penalty is symbolised by the grisly prison, and enforced within its lofty walls.

There is a further class to whom prisons are a matter of deep concern—the religionists. By a sociomorphic instinct they transfer to the Deity the social relations of a king. As kings legislate and punish transgressors, so the Supernal Ruler is made to issue decrees and avenge their transgression by fire and brimstone, and eternal despair in the dungeons of Tartarus. To those who accept these crude

notions, the prison affords a welcome confirmation. The invisible spheres to them are the pendant of the visible, and the temporal dungeons have their counterpart in the eternal. The part played by these barbarisms is obvious. The tortures of Tartarus become the model and justification of vengeance and cruelty. To burn a misbeliever or torture a malefactor here, finds its warrant in the infinitely worse fate prepared for him hereafter. The prison, then, as an emblem of Tartarus, occupies an important place in theology, is a bulwark to the preacher, and supplies him with the sharpest weapon to strike terror into the hearts of his followers. Acceptance of his tenets, and conformity to his directions, become a safeguard and an insurance against the fire and the wrath to come.

II.—PRISONS AND PUNISHMENTS.

The first feature that strikes us on enquiring into prisons and punishments is that contrast which the nineteenth century generally presents when compared with its predecessors. Rapid and gratifying progress has been made all round, and the gaols are no exception. As much as the electric is above the rush light, as much as the steam-express is above the stage-coach, as much as modern doctors are above the whilom quacks whose whole stock-in-trade was a lancet and a purgative, so much and more are modern prisons above those of former times. They are no longer dungeons and towers for torture or indefinite incarceration, but houses of wholesome discipline and edification. They are intended to root out evil and implant good. The primary aim of a prison now is to chasten waywardness, to refine manners, to elevate the mind, to soften the heart; its secondary purpose is, by means of a reasonable punishment, to deter the delinquent and others.

We are legitimately proud of the marvellous onward

movement in science, locomotion, industry, but to a lover of his kind I know of nothing more grateful, more beneficent, more godlike than the conversion of damp, squalid, dark dungeons into neat, airy, spacious, orderly establishments of correction and refinement. In order to measure this progress, we have but to cast a glance at the melancholy spectacle of ancient prisons and punishments.

The prisons were all unsuitable buildings. They were disused castles, fortresses, city gates such as the Tower, Lancaster or Chester Castle, Northgate or New-gate; or friaries, or rooms and dungeons under courts, council chambers or town-halls. Many gaols were very small, consisting of one day-room and two sleeping dungeons at the back of the keeper's house. Of discipline in them there was none. The gaol, as a rule, was a public-house and lodging-house rolled into one, with this difference, that such houses are under supervision, while the gaols were innocent of all restraint. The prisoners were at the mercy of the gaoler, who had no salary, but lived by fees ruthlessly levied on the inmates, mostly insolvent debtors. Everything had to be paid for. If they could not pay garnish (footing-money), they were stripped of their clothes for the purpose, or had to run the gauntlet. Turnkeys, being without salary, also lived by fees, or kept a shop in the prison. There were no female officers. The prisoners lived mainly by charity—the bag, the begging grate, collections in the churches; or by the scanty food irregularly supplied at the caprice of the goaler. There was no employment, nor any attempt to separate young from old, untried from convicted; even the separation of sexes was imperfect. Accommodation was woefully insufficient, cleanliness and fresh air were unknown; light was scarce, for the gaoler had to pay the window-tax. Overcrowding, filth, rags; damp, dark dungeons; heavy irons, even upon women, obtained everywhere. The gaoler

held a licence for beer and wine; had a taproom, and a drinking or garnish room. It is not difficult to imagine that such dire abuses resulted in deep demoralisation, and the gaols were schools of vice and crime. By the testimony of all witnesses, depravity of every kind was rampant and unchecked. It was idleness, drunkenness, profligacy, obscenity, gambling, swearing, fighting. "I make no scruple to affirm," says John Howard, "that if it were the aim of the magistrates to effect the destruction of young delinquents, they could not desire a more effectual method than to confine them in our prisons." Nor is it any wonder that the combination of all these horrors produced much illness and death, chiefly through a specific malady called gaol-fever, the prevalence of which gave rise to the expression, "to rot in gaol."

And who was responsible for this ocean of cruel wrong? Mr. Buxton, in 1818, answers, "The prisoner is the wretched and pitiable victim of the careless indifference of the public. I hesitate not to say, his blood is upon us all." What mockery it was for judges and magistrates to send men to prison or hard labour, when instead of a reasonable prison they went to a dark, damp dungeon, to filth and chains, to starvation and sickness; and instead of hard labour, it was enforced idleness, with its concomitants, debauchment of mind and soul. And what a melancholy reflection it is that these scenes of unutterable wretchedness, this dead-sea of abomination, remained unheeded generation after generation. Men of culture and humanity were cognisant of it, but lifted never a finger to remove it. The priest passed by, and the Levite; the prelate passed by, and the statesman; age after age, the same cries went up, and no ear was given to them. But now all is changed. And how has this change come to pass? After weary centuries of suffering and sorrow, there came at last the good

Samaritan. John Howard did not pass by. He was moved with compassion. Himself relates, in his introduction to *The State of Prisons*, that the distress of prisoners came more immediately under his notice in 1773, when he was sheriff of the county of Bedford, and the circumstance which moved him to activity was that some, after being acquitted, or unprosecuted, and after being confined for months, were dragged back to prison and locked up again pending the payment of sundry fees to the gaoler or clerk of assize. In order to redress this grievance, he applied to the justices for a salary for the gaoler instead of fees. The justices were touched by the anomaly and fain to grant the desired relief, but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expense. While looking in vain for this precedent, he visited several prisons, and, he goes on, "I beheld scenes of calamity which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate, and, in order to gain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it by various and accurate observation, I visited most of the county gaols in England. . . . I could not enjoy my ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered me by Providence of attempting the relief of the miserable." But what can his efforts avail to compass a task so gigantic? Only a mighty king could accomplish it! Zeal stays not to count the cost, or to question the result. He was a true-heart, and with true-hearted determination did he set about his sacred mission. No obstacle could arrest or danger daunt him. All was sacrificed—health, fortune, life. During the remaining seventeen years of his life, he made three tours of inspection of the prisons of Great Britain and Ireland, and six on the Continent. The last two of these embraced also lazarettoes and hospitals. He died at Cherson, 1790, of camp-fever contracted in the treatment of a lady. A martyr's death fitly crowned an apostle's life. A grateful nation has

tardily erected a monument to his honour. A canonising community would adorn him with the nimbus of sanctity, and erect altars to his name.

The immediate result of his labours was the publication of two large volumes of reports disclosing the deplorable condition of English and foreign prisons. In order to inform ourselves further on the subject, permit me to subjoin briefly a few items from these diaries.

At the *Oxford Castle* "black assize," all present died within forty hours of gaol-fever—the Lord Chief Baron, the sheriff, and some three hundred more.

Abingdon.—The prison consists of two dirty day-rooms and three offensive night-rooms. One, for women, is only four and a-half feet square; the straw, worn to dust, swarmed with vermin; no court; no water accessible; eight women in irons; no employment.

Worcester Castle.—A strong, deep, damp dungeon. Prisoners are all night chained together by heavy chains through the links in their fetters, and to iron rings fastened in the floor.

Ely.—Prison the property of the bishop. Prisoners, until lately, were chained down on their backs upon a floor across which were several iron bars; an iron spiked collar about their necks, and a heavy iron bar over their legs.

Rochester.—The liberality of the people is so great that prisoners cannot be kept sober. Persons have even desired to be confined, in order to have the privilege of the begging grate.

Reading.—Verses over the debtors' grate to the street :

O ye whose hours exempt from sorrow flow,
Behold the seat of pain, and want, and woe;
Think, while your hand th' entreated alms extend,
That what to us ye give to God ye lend.

Macclesfield.—Gaol quite out of repair. The staircase so ruinous that prisoners ascend by a rope !

Knaresborough.—Only one room ; earth floor ; no fire-place ; very offensive ; a common sewer from the town runs through it, uncovered. An officer, confined here, took in with him a dog to defend him from vermin ; but the dog was soon destroyed, and the prisoner's face much disfigured by them.

Liverpool, Borough Prison, 1787.—Prisoners, fifty ; chaplain's salary, £12 12s. ; surgeon's, £10 ; gaoler's, £10. At one time, twenty-eight had gaol-fever, caused by the offensiveness of their dungeons and the overcrowding ; there are seven dungeons, with three in each at night. One day-room for all of both sexes. *Bridewell* : All the men in heavy irons ; seven out of eight women chained to the floor and in bed at noon on Sunday, 23rd December, having had no fire for several days.

Salisbury.—Just outside the prison gate is a round staple fixed in the wall ; through it is put a chain, at each end of which is a debtor padlocked by the leg, standing and offering for sale to passengers, nets, laces, purses, etc., made in the prison. At Christmas, felons chained together are permitted to go about, one carrying a sack or basket for food, another a box for money. The same obtains at *Exeter*.

Of the prisons abroad, it would not be safe to assert that they were in better condition than the British. A few items must suffice.

Paris, Grand Chatelet.—In four dungeons, sixteen prisoners, two in irons and all on straw. On first visit it had a tap-room.

Lyons.—In four horrid dungeons were twenty-nine criminals. One was in the fiftieth year of his confinement.

Avignon.—The gaoler told me he had seen drops of

blood mixed with the sweat on the breasts of some who had suffered the torture.

Madrid.—Rooms and dungeons very offensive. The walls of one of the torture rooms were stained with blood. In the *Carcel de la Corona*, a prison for ecclesiastics, were five priests, one of whom had his wife with him.

Ghent.—There were three prisoners in the dungeons attached to the Abbey of St. Peter. In the bishop's prison were several iron cages, opening into offensive rooms.

Rome.—In St. Angelo, found a bishop who had been confined upwards of twenty years, and was distracted. Some gloomy dungeons are shown, in which Beatrice Cenci, Giordano Bruno, Cagliostro, and others are said to have been incarcerated. The prison of the Inquisition was quite inaccessible here, as well as in Spain and Portugal.

Paris, Bastille.—Fortress, composed of eight strong towers joined together. It is destined, like the London Tower, for state prisoners. It had numerous dungeons, cages, *calottes* (small, dark, upper cells), and a *cabinet des oubliettes*, whose floor was a trap-door, and he that entered was *oublié*—gone! Cardinal Richelieu had such a cabinet in his castle at Ruel. Cages were invented by the Bishop of Verdun, who, by a strange irony of fate, was the first placed in one. Cardinal de la Ballue was kept eleven years in one by Louis XI. The cage was six feet by eight.

In Moscow, Smyrna, Venice, Vienna, Liege, etc., John Howard witnessed much cruelty and neglect. As a set-off, he visited some well-appointed prisons. Two, in Milan, were an honour to the country. The *Maison de Force* at Ghent almost reached his highest ideal.

These brief extracts will suffice to show the startling nature of John Howard's disclosures. Yet their appalling import did not succeed in rousing much attention, and was not productive of permanent results. Judges and magis-

trates remained indifferent or hostile. Twenty-five years after his death, the horrors still remained unredressed. The evils to be cured were so deeply ingrained in the social state, and so coldly disregarded, that all the efforts and all the zeal directed against them effected only a temporary improvement. Even the intervention of ameliorative enactments on the part of the legislature was systematically ignored. The noblest aims were baffled by that inertness of old conservatism that frowned upon all change, and by that natural barbarism of human nature which it has taken so many centuries to exorcise. However, John Howard had sounded the alarm; the eyes of a few were opened, their spirit roused, and the reform, which for a time seemed balked, was once more set on foot, and pushed resolutely forward. In 1818, a band of Friends and other philanthropists—the germ of the Howard Association—formed themselves into a society for the improvement of prison discipline, and prosecuted their labours with such tireless industry that, partly through their exertions, Millbank Prison was built. But even at that date, according to the reports of Mr. Buxton and Mrs. Fry, the gaols were terribly overcrowded. By day it was nearly impossible to push through the throngs in the yards; by night the wretched prisoners ran the risk of suffocation. All were in ill-health, almost all were in rags, and filthy in the extreme. The uproar of oaths, complaints, obscenity, the indescribable stench, presented together a picture of the utmost misery. Even in London itself, Newgate was in a disgraceful condition. The ward into which Mrs. Fry ventured to penetrate was filled with women unsexed, fighting, swearing, dancing, gaming, yelling, and justly deserved its name of “hell upon earth.” Yet within a month it was transformed, and presented a scene of stillness and propriety. But it was not till 1835 that a great stride was made. The House of Lords recom-

mended, for the second time, the principle of separate confinement, along with a uniform system of treatment, as regards dietary, labour, and education, together with the appointment of prison inspectors. Within five years of this momentous declaration, Pentonville prison was built on the separate or solitary system, and became the model for all the land. In six years, fifty-four prisons were erected on its plan. Thus, after a struggle of sixty-five years, the noble work undertaken by John Howard was brought to a successful consummation, the main outlines of which have undergone no material change down to this day.

In awarding credit to the leaders of prison reform in England, we must not overlook other causes that have operated in the same direction elsewhere, and even earlier. The Society of Friends in Pennsylvania had adopted the solitary and reformatory system as far back as 1786, and New York built a cellular prison in 1816. Deputations went from England and France to America to examine their penitentiaries, and brought back most favourable reports. These facts presented a novel and pleasing spectacle—the youngest among the nations became the preceptress and model of the time-honoured civilisation of the old world.

Another momentous event in prison reform was the capture of the Bastille in Paris. When the Revolution broke out, this ancient prison, like its English compeers, was packed with miserable, starved wretches. Two years ago, our Autumn Exhibition contained a thrilling representation of this subject. From the gate of the gloomy fortress there was carried on the shoulders of two revolutionists a man—a living skeleton, clothed in rags, and dazed by the novelty of that daylight which his eyes had not beheld for many weary years. If the great national upheaval of France had done nothing else than sweep away the old-time prison

atrocities, it would for this alone deserve a high meed of praise.

It is worth remarking that Christianity contributed but little towards prison reform. For a thousand years and more that religion had held undisputed sway in Europe. Its ministers were leaders of society, and frequently councilors of state or chancellors of the realm; but during all these centuries the prison horrors remained in all their hideousness. Countless wretches pined hopelessly in hunger, chains, and filth, in these appalling dens. We read of some saintly persons, and even Religious Orders, who tried to bring relief to the sufferers, especially those under sentence of death; but their efforts effected no wide or lasting success. If we seek the first link in the chain of events which actively led to prison reform, it is not in Christianity we find it, but in a movement which appeared to bear no promise of such a result—the success of Islam and its conquest of Jerusalem. When the Crusaders marched towards Palestine, they came in contact with the superior civilisation of the Greeks and the Arabs, who looked upon the Franks, English, and Germans as mere barbarians. This march, like all travel, disillusioned the invaders, who returned to their homes with their eyes opened and their minds enlightened. Again, in 1453, the overthrow of the Greek empire, and the capture of Constantinople by the Moslems, gave a further westward impetus to that Greek learning and civilisation by which birth was given to the Renaissance. This in its turn developed into the great revolt of the Reformation, and that humanitarian and scientific philosophy of the last century which is the parent of the modern spirit of enquiry, and consequent enlightenment. Socrates and Aristotle still rule us.

2. Passing from the reform of prisons, and retracing our steps into remote ages when despotism reigned supreme,

we find prisons in constant requisition as places of detention and as antechambers to the scaffold for all who happened to be obnoxious to the ruling powers. In state matters it was *væ victis* to those on the losing side; in church matters it was, recant, or prison; torture and death to the heretic or dissenter. In this broad field we can only glance at one or two spots.

The Tower of London, built and rebuilt, first as a fortress, became in 1140, and remained for some six centuries, a royal residence and a prison. And how many tragedies of torture and agony have been enacted within its massy walls. For several hundred years, says the chronicle, the axe was seldom still. The favourite of one year became the victim of the next. Tower Hill streamed with blood; the tower dungeons echoed with groans. Tyranny, ambition, cruelty, ignorance, and superstition, all by turn, opened these dismal portals, which only once again turned on their hinges to lead the prisoner to the scaffold. Lancaster Castle, Chester Castle, and many more can, in their measure, match the story of London Tower. As an ecclesiastical specimen, there is a keep beneath the very sanctuary of the ruined cathedral at Peel Castle. The den is reached through a narrow stair. Light struggles in through two little holes in the wall. The floor is unpaved. The appointed guide informs visitors of a lady who was imprisoned there for witchcraft. She was first exposed for seven days to the public gaze in a white penitential sheet, and was then taken to that episcopal dungeon, where she existed for fourteen years, until slow-footed death came to terminate her sufferings. Scenes so sad and painful belong to an age which we fervently hope the world in these parts will never witness again.

In addition to the sufferings endured in ancient prisons, there were many other punishments, mostly of a corporal

character. The capital penalty, in dire and barbarous forms, was inflicted for numerous offences, many of which are now adequately expiated by three months' imprisonment. At Lancashire Spring Assize, 1817, no less than forty-four men were condemned to death, and at several subsequent assizes the number condemned ranged between thirty and forty. Secondary punishments were no less cruel and unfeeling—the pillory, the rack, the stocks, the whipping-post, branding in the hand, mutilations by cutting off ears, nose, or hands were penalties freely visited of old upon offenders throughout Europe. In the dock of Lancaster Castle, there is still the holdfast and the branding-iron. The iron was made red-hot, and then pressed against the imprisoned hand of the prisoner, who was thus branded for life as “M” (malefactor).

The Roman Empire, in its palmyest days, was, from all accounts, in no better plight. Beneath the ruined Basilica of Pompeii is a dungeon which receives its light, air, and all access through a hole in the vault. The Mamertine, in Rome, has a like dungeon. In it, Jugurtha and the companions of Catiline perished, and some early Christians were incarcerated. A particularly touching story connected with this prison, and characteristic of unfeeling times, is of an old man, a father condemned to die in it of starvation. His daughter, a young mother, is permitted to visit him daily. Days and weeks pass, and the old man declines not. At last the guards watch, and lo! the secret of the mysteriously protracted life is revealed! The young mother is seen suckling her aged parent. Byron has immortalised the pathetic incident in *Childe Harold*. Dungeons were but the underground portion of a prison. Peter was kept at Jerusalem in a prison divided into wards, having an iron gate, iron chains, and officered by soldiers. At Philippi, in an inner prison, prisoners were fastened by their feet in stocks and with bands. In the gospel we read of imprisonment

for debt until all is paid, while the wife and children are sold as slaves. John the Baptist is detained indefinitely and beheaded in the prison at the caprice of the king.

Jewish history gives no indication of formal prisons in Judea, and their law makes no mention of them. Jeremiah was kept in a "prison," but it was only the house of a scribe or a miry pit. Imprisonment was not a generally recognised mode of punishment. A place sufficiently secure is temporarily used for detention. The penalties attached to their law were compensation of different kinds, but chiefly retaliation, which is thus expressed: "He that giveth a blemish to any of his neighbours, as he hath done so shall it be done to him: breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth shall he restore: what blemish he gave, the like shall he be compelled to suffer. Thou shalt not pity him, but shalt require life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, that others, hearing, may not dare to do such things. Thou shalt cut off the hand of the immodest woman, neither shalt thou be moved with any pity." Lastly, death by stoning, for innumerable offences, many of which are esteemed trifling by us, or are wholly absent from our criminal code. What further surprises us is to find prisons absent from Judea and used at their very doors by their neighbours the Philistines. A judge of Israel, having been captured, had his eyes gouged out, was led bound in chains to Gaza, and, being shut up in the prison, was made to grind!—a species of hard labour not unknown among us. Blinding and kindred cruelties were in keeping with those ancient times, and the Jews were not behind the Gentiles in inflicting them.

The scanty knowledge we have of Chaldea leaves us in doubt as to the existence of prisons among them. Artaxerxes issues a decree: "Whosoever will not do this law of the king diligently, judgment shall be executed upon him either

unto death or unto banishment, or to confiscation of his goods, or, at least to prison." But it seems that, instead of "prisons," the original text bears, "or, at least, to fetters." However, there obtained among the Babylonians a ready method of dealing with delinquents which in expedition and thoroughness has hardly its equal. The furnace of fire and the lions' den did their work without a flaw, record says, save on one memorable occasion.

In more remote antiquity, Egypt presents us with an advanced civilisation. Its sculpture, laws, architecture, religion, and funeral rites alike bespeak a cultured kingdom, in which we naturally look for a formal prison, and, indeed, the imprisonment of Joseph is in point to confirm our anticipation. But if Egypt had reached the high level of organised prisons, we must not concede to it equality with our own accomplished prison service. Joseph rose from the rank of a prisoner to that of governor. Such unique promotion is without parallel among us. The presence of prisons in Egypt suggests the query, how the Jews, who, according to the annals, had dwelt there over two hundred years, did not adopt so convenient a mode of enforcing law and order. If Moses was brought up in all the wisdom and learning of Egypt, and lived forty years at the centre of its life, he must have been familiar with its laws and their sanctions here and hereafter. How, then, come these sanctions to be so conspicuous by their absence in his legislation? Modern critics, meeting with such discrepancies, will sometimes proceed with ruthless logic to draw conclusions which set old orthodoxy aghast.

3. Thus, in retracing our steps, we come to the earliest instances of incarceration. The practice of detention has evidently come into use with the growth of social life. Society is held together by laws the observance of which is enforced at first by corporal penalties; then, as the common-

wealth grows in refinement, by fines or detention. Prisons are thus the outcome and concomitants of civilisation, having grown together with it, in the same manner as art, religion, letters, architecture, industry. It is related of a traveller that he experienced a sense of security and pleasure at finding a gallows erected on an unknown shore. Gruesome sight as it was, it betokened the presence of law and order. So is it with prisons; they are mirrors of social progress, the degree of which may be unerringly gauged from their presence and character. An ill-conditioned prison denotes a backward society; its absence marks a society in its infancy.

4. But, further, what first caused recourse to punishment? The necessity of repressing evil, of chastising the evildoer. And how come there to be evildoers? An enemy hath done this! But whence comes the enemy? Whence comes the miscreant by the side of the Creant (if that word may be used)? Whence came the first evil disposition, if the Maker of all is All-Good? How is even the existence of evil reconcilable with all-goodness? Why is there at large among us, as is currently thought, an evil personality let loose by One who is looked up to as Father? Why is not, rather, freedom made more perfect and evil suppressed? Is Ahriman perhaps the equal of Ormuzd? Or are we to listen to the teaching that evil is the necessary and eternal attendant on good, as indeed it is said, "Root not out the cockle lest you uproot the wheat with it"? If so, evil is the inseparable concomitant of good, equally as disease attends on health, and death on life. Without death, no life; without evil, no good. While, however, philosophers see in evil only moral polarity, and no more mystery than in pain, disease, or death, to believers in Revelation the origin and tolerance of evil (supposing there is absolute evil) remains an insoluble problem, the awfulness

of which is vividly brought before them by the sombre prison whose high walls are, as it were, its embodiment. And a sorry philosopher must he be who, after years of daily contact with a prison, feels not the load of its dread secret. He cannot help seeking to unravel the enigma, though he may despair of ever discovering it, and may be compelled to confess that, while the riddle of the sphinx is solved and man's destiny partly revealed; while the pyramid and its mummy are illuminated, however imperfectly, the origin of miscreancy remains an absolute secret, and the huge prison, the silent sphinx of evil, still keeps its secret inexorable.

III.—PRISONERS.

The next stage of our inquiry brings us to the inmates of prisons. What estimate are we to form of them? Are they wicked, or only unfortunate? Are themselves or their circumstances responsible? The answer to this question will govern our attitude towards the offender. Until recent times the former view had almost the entire weight of assent. The transgressor was held wholly and solely answerable. Even the debtor did not escape. No consideration was extended. He was treated as a scapegrace, though he often was a scapegoat suffering for the sins of others. No treatment was too bad for him. Severity attended him in his arrest, his trial, his condemnation, his imprisonment, and gave him no helping hand on discharge. This opinion and treatment were the natural outcome of the doctrine that man is absolutely free, and is wholly responsible for the ill he chooses. Needless to say that this extreme view has lost ground simultaneously with the progress of prison reform, and is now much discredited. The other opinion, which has come into vogue of late years, would go to the other extreme and strip the offender of all responsibility, laying the burthen of his transgression on other agents. Its upholders, making

light of human liberty, regard man's will as little more than the sport of circumstances. Prudence, steering between Charybdis and Scylla, will follow a middle course, allotting the blame between the fallen and their surroundings according to the merits of the case. This rational and happy mean is now gaining general favour, and much allowance is made for the pitfalls and snares that beset the path of virtue. Observation and experience tend more and more to show that many factors ought to be taken into account in order to gauge adequately the guilt of a transgression. Nature and heredity are responsible for many human failures. A line of vicious parents is likely to give birth to a vicious offspring. Then there is the atmosphere of coarseness and depravity, of grimy dens and squalid slums in which many of the lower class live and move and have their being; lastly, dire destitution—"the pressure of extreme want." These influences, none of which are of their own seeking or making, and to break with which requires exceptional moral fibre, all plead loudly for extenuation of guilt. Nor is their pleading unheeded. A considerate and excusing view of crime is more and more gaining ground. It has led to mild, reformatory treatment in prison; to the establishment of various agencies for assisting prisoners on discharge, *e.g.*, the Aid Society, the Prison gate Mission; to various enactments preventive of unnecessary imprisonments, *e.g.*, the *Summary Jurisdiction Act*, the *First Offender's Act*; lastly, it has led to a much milder application of the law. Our Recorder has in six years inflicted two thousand years less of punishment than had been done on the old lines, and within the last fifteen years the prison population has fallen by nearly one half. These are startling facts, and, whatever other causes they may be ascribed to, this sensible and lenient view of crime has greatly helped to deplete the prisons. Yet let us not delude ourselves. Be the laws and their application ever so

reasonable and considerate, this depletion will not continue indefinitely. Short sentences or long, the offenders, like the poor, we have always with us. Social economists of optimistic temperament may regard poverty and crime as curable and preventible diseases of society; but the sober-minded do not expect—certainly not within measurable distance—the disappearance of our old acquaintances the prison and the workhouse, though they may reduce them to their simplest expression. The perfectibility of human society reaches at last its limit. Folly and wastefulness; moral, mental and physical failures, will ever continue in operation, and supply, at least, a minimum of social miscarriages.

2. But when we come to make a more particular enquiry into the causes of crime, we might, with the Greeks of old, reduce all to one head, namely, ignorance. Indeed, he that is truly wise and circumspect will guard himself carefully against the folly of crime. Unfortunately this high degree of wisdom is rare, and in its absence a variety of factors is found, either singly or in combination, to produce the baleful crop. With relapsers (*alias*, gaol-birds) the dominant cause is their companions, from whom they cannot pluck up courage to tear themselves away. Others will attribute their fall to drink, bad-temper, provocation, temptation, the devil. But when one tries to probe the evil to its last entrenchment, when one asks why don't they give up drink, evil resorts, bad company; why don't they strive to control their temper and overcome their passions; why don't they cast out the evil whatever it is, they will allege impotency, and assert that they cannot. Is then weakness of will the final spring of their failure? Are they moral imbeciles? They are in many cases—especially the intemperate. With the others their pretended inability is but a cloak for their unwillingness. "Evil is wrought by want of thought, as well as want of will," says the poet. They cannot, because they will not.

And whence is this sloth, this failure of will, of decision? Is it not lack of interest in their own welfare? Absence of self-regard, therefore, of well-regulated self-love, is the first spring of crime. Were it in our power to endow them with self-respect, with a vivid sense of their well-being, with foresight to understand all that lies before them, and with tenacity of will to act accordingly, crime and all its attendant evils would soon cease to be. In the meantime, the duty of their well-wishers consists in opening their eyes to their possibilities and perils; in bringing them to take an interest in themselves, and to understand how much they have at stake. To this end few agents import more than Religion. For it avails to counteract the twin source of moral failure: ignorance and imbecility. It inculcates a code of ethics which aims at enlightening moral blindness, informing the conscience and setting forth the gainliness of virtue. Next by the practice of prayer which is, at least, an aspiration after good, it heals moral impotence, nerves the feeble will, converts desire into determination and actual fact. Boys often come to grief by failing to turn up in time for their work in the morning, or otherwise neglecting it; by staying in the streets late at night, or running away from home. Too much blame must not be laid to the share of parental neglect. Very few prisoners will lay the cause of their fall at the door of their parents, or even partially hold them responsible. The fault may also too readily be laid on physical or mental shortcomings. Nearly all prisoners are fairly healthy, and very few are mentally deficient. There is one class more directly chargeable with their own fall, namely, dissolute women. Once I commenced to make a record of causes leading to this kind of life, but soon desisted on finding, almost without exception, that themselves were answerable for their failure. It was not poverty, or loss of employment, or parental neglect, but bad company and

choice ; and this finding was confirmed by their general unwillingness to abandon their ways. Though often termed “unfortunates,” none have less claim to charge adverse fortune with their condition ; none are more wilful. With all others, misfortune and accidents of birth come largely into account. They are frequently more unhappy than wicked ; very few have downright bad hearts. And this leads me to add that prisons and prisoners are not at all as gloomy and depressing in their effect on officers as sentimental imaginations may fancy. Some think that five years’ prison service is enough for any man, that it lowers his spirits and mars his temper. The soundness of that judgment may well be doubted. When prisoners are justly and considerably treated, they are contented, and receive the visitor with welcome and affability. In their work they generally display such cheerfulness that its exuberance in whistling and singing has to be sternly repressed. Even convicts under sentence of death, if not terrified and unnerved by sensational or harrowing visions, will bear up bravely and patiently to the last, meeting their awful doom with firmness and serenity. To this rose-colour picture of the amenableness of prisoners to fair treatment, I ought to add that there are female prisoners of a certain class, and of excitable temperament, who are decidedly troublesome, and on whom severity, leniency, patience and admonition, seem all alike thrown away. Having lost all self-regard, they readily become wild, desperate, and intractable. In most cases, patience will overcome them at last ; in others, severity may crush their temper.

IV.—IMPRISONMENT.

1. The last question we have to examine is the bearing of imprisonment itself. What is its effect on the subject ? Is his moral character beneficially affected by it ? Taking

prison discipline in itself, *i.e.*, apart from its length or justness, one answer only can be given to the question. Modern prison treatment with all its minute care for the subject's best interests cannot operate otherwise than advantageously in all respects. It would weary you to give details of the present elaborate and considerate prison discipline, and I must content myself with saying that the minister gives service with instruction daily, and visits the prisoner periodically in his cell, which is roomy, well-aired and lightsome. The doctor plies him with equal attention for his health. The schoolmaster tends his education and supplies him with books from an ample library. The warders wait on him generally, and in his industrial employment. The governor daily, the inspector monthly, superintend and check, with the support of the visiting magistrates, the entire establishment, while the supreme governance is, by the Prisons Bill of 1877, placed in the hands of H.M. Prison Commissioners. Under this system, all non-convict prisons are termed "local," instead of borough or county jails; and this signal advantage is gained: a uniform system obtains throughout, and end is put to caprice or arbitrariness of local authorities. The chief modes of employment are: oakum-picking, the treadwheel, weaving, mat making, the laundry. "Working out"—employment outside the cell—is an object of ambition. The daily out-door exercise lasts an hour. The diet is sufficient to maintain strength and is graduated according to length of term. The sick are in hospital. The entire establishment is scrupulously clean, well ventilated, and warmed in winter. Regularity, order, decorum reign throughout. By means of a bell the prisoners can at all times communicate with their officers.

When thus there is brought to bear upon a man every possible agency for good, religious, mental and social, together with silence, industry, and separation from all

pernicious influence, it seems a piece of cynical pessimism and an outrage on the dominant goodness of human nature to ask, as is sometimes done, whether prisoners are reformed. Countless acknowledgments could be cited from the lips of well-disposed prisoners of the signal benefits they have derived from their term of seclusion. True there are recidivists, but on the whole they are not many; they are the irreducible residuum, such cases as are found in all classes of society, though, perhaps, not brought to prison. The proverbial black sheep in the flock; Nicholas among the deacons; and Judas among the apostles, exemplify the same fact.

2. In addition to the effects of prison treatment in itself, it is asked how the length of term operates. Are short terms preferable to long? Is the present Recorder's administration of the law better than that of his predecessor? Rigorists would reform by sheer force, by dint of punishment—an opinion which is fast losing favour. The lenient, on the contrary, contend that long terms are useless and mischievous; useless, because they do not reform more than short terms, perhaps, less; mischievous, because they exasperate tempers by their seeming injustice, and harden the heart. Short terms, on the other hand, while saving a sea of human suffering and sorrow, provoke gratitude and real reform by their mercifulness. There is a spring of goodness in the heart even of a transgressor, and kindness is likely to open it. Witness the marvellous success of Mrs. Fry, at Newgate. Then by the closure of many prisons, they save a mass of unnecessary cost and labour, without, on the other side, occasioning any increase in crime. Lastly, they prevent the breaking up of many families. We are apt to forget that when a father gets five years penal servitude, it frequently means, in addition, the irretrievable ruin of his family. Especially in first convictions, are short terms

desirable, because the shock and reproach attendant on a first conviction, however short, is alone, with the better class especially, a crushing blow and a sufficient check. Anyhow, the point is on its trial. But it seems safe to say that the tide is flowing here and elsewhere in favour of short terms and mild treatment, and that decisive evidence will be needed of the insecurity of person and property ere the tide will flow again in the old direction, and long terms with severity be reverted to. Our Recorder has not feared to testify that punishments are piled upon the transgressor in the spirit of vengeance and extermination, that the means adopted for his amendment resemble torture, and instead of reforming, tend rather to harden and ruffianise. He feels confident that the sum total of imprisonment all over the kingdom might safely be reduced to one-third of its present unjustifiable amount with infinite benefit to the nation.

3. This turn of the tide in favour of leniency is the outcome of the modern spirit. Humaneness now rules, not terror or torture. Reason and suasion are found more fruitful of results than force and compulsion. "Force is no remedy," has become an axiom. Dark cells are gone, flogging is rarely recurred to; a regular system of rewards and the forfeiture of certain privileges are now the right and left arm of prison discipline, while there is a rivalry between the different prisons in showing the smallest number of punishments. Corporal punishment, the rod, the birch, the cat, are losing ground on every side—in the home, in the school, in the army and navy, as well as in the gaol, and are only resorted to in extreme cases. The main corporal punishment, the capital, the sole survival of retaliation, is stripped of all its former horrors, carried out with studied humanity in the privacy of the prison, and only for the avengement of deliberate murder. Other countries push this tenderness even further. In Belgium, corporal punishments are, in all

schools, forbidden under heavy penalties, and the capital punishment has not been applied for thirty years. So strong is this feeling that not prisoners only share in its sweet fruits, but also the poor, the sick, the orphans, the blind, the deaf-mutes, the imbeciles, the aged, in fine, the afflicted of every class. Nay, it reaches even to the very brutes. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is the natural outcome of this widespread sympathy with suffering. We must not, however, boast too loudly of our compassionate feelings. Europe is outstripped by Asia. In India, there are hospitals for diseased and superannuated animals, a development of pity we have hitherto failed to reach.

In drawing these discursive notes to a close, I cannot refrain from naming a last direction in which this spirit of humanity has been busily at work, namely, that of modifying the current ideas regarding man's *post-mortem* lot. Aforetime, popular tradition was wont to picture the vast majority of the race suffering perennial tortures. The lake of fire and brimstone was taken as literally as the golden streets of the New Jerusalem. Fancies like these suited old times when men revelled in tortures, inflicted or endured, such as we still hear of among Indian fakirs. The truculence of such opinions is in glaring contrast with modern thought and legislation, which discountenance torture in every form. When men's hearts are aglow with these feelings of humanity, and they come to contrast the prevalent abhorrence of pain with the notions current of old, it is with a sense of pleasant relief that they turn to the visions of mercy and peace presented by reason and by the very book on which the theory of wrath and vengeance is based. It is no longer the Lord of Hosts who deals with us, but a Father of surpassing love, and who will not be outdone in mercy by us, his frail creatures. And will such a Parent bring into existence children destined for that lot which was

of yore anticipated? Will not He rather overcome evil by good, and love His very enemies—if such can be? These and kindred opinions, formerly whispered, now proclaimed on all sides, have profoundly shaken, if not subverted, tenets heretofore widely accepted. We are all witnesses of the depth to which men's minds are stirred relative to their *post-mortem* destiny. Books and controversies innumerable, fresh religious organisations, all testify to the keen interest taken in the subject. These altered views of future life, this new light thrown around the supreme Ruler are all born of the same cause—the humanitarianism of the age, itself the child of the Renaissance and of Greek learning. It has indeed changed the entire face of society, the laws of which and usages it has revolutionised. All vindictive pains are held in abhorrence, and every possible agency is brought into requisition to better and cheer man's lot—education, art, music, medicine, sanitation, and a hundred more, all resulting in the startling fact that within the last two centuries the death-rate has fallen from eighty to seventeen per thousand. Of old, the ringing of church bells or the lighting of a blessed candle, were relied on to drive away evil spirits or to safeguard in thunderstorm or eclipse. The supreme remedy for a disease was a pilgrimage to a shrine, or a penitential procession through the plague-stricken city. In 1783, only a little over a century ago, witches and succubæ were still commonly believed in and publicly burnt by the rulers, temporal and spiritual. The nineteenth century forgives them, for they knew not what they did. It is only by contrasting such scenes of ignorance and superstition with our modern spirit that we can adequately realise the vast forward strides. It was partly to illustrate this progress that I have set ancient prisons and penalties in opposition with modern, the superiority, nay the perfection, of which is an index of our

all-round advancement. But while we contemplate, with legitimate gratification, the rapid improvement in all social relations in England and elsewhere, let us not forget that a duty is incumbent upon each of us in his little sphere further to strengthen that considerate and sympathetic temper towards the erring and the fallen which is the choicest ornament of our age, and thus to perpetuate and extend that noble and philanthropic movement of which John Howard and Mrs. Fry were the pioneers.

ON PLANS FOR REGULATING THE PAPER CURRENCY.

By J. M. McMASTER.

DR. Drysdale, in a paper read before this Society on 23rd February, 1880, made a valuable contribution to the discussion on the question as to how the issue of paper money may best be regulated. The essential condition is that immediate convertibility into gold must always be maintained. The inconvenience, and, indeed, danger of our present system arises from the smallness of our reserve stock of gold to sustain the enormous superstructure of credit raised upon it. Various contrivances, such as the Clearing House and the cheque system, greatly diminish the extent to which gold is used; but there is undoubtedly a danger of gold being called for so largely as to reduce the Bank of England reserve even to panic point. The present method of counteracting this tendency is the raising of the rate of discount by the Bank directors when, in their wisdom, they think fit.

The position which the Bank of England holds, as the Government bank and the bankers' bank, and the only holder of a large stock of gold, gives it enormous prestige and influence, and practically makes it the arbiter of the money market. All the other banks follow suit, the rate of interest rises, and gold flows back.

This method works fairly well, but it is at the best a clumsy method. It is in the power of the four-and-twenty

directors of the Bank of England by want of judgment to bring on, or by wise and prudent action to stave off, dangerous financial trouble. If they allowed sixteen or seventeen of their twenty-two millions of gold reserve to flow out without taking steps to stem the current, a panic might ensue that would cost the country a hundred millions, and be as disastrous as a mutiny in India. And these directors, it must be borne in mind, act like the directors of any other trading concern, in the interests solely of their own proprietary. They have, it is true, responsibilities to the nation as the holders of the only large store of gold in the country—responsibilities not imposed by any law, or even formally acknowledged; but still responsibilities which, if repudiated, would tend to widespread panic and ruin. For instance, they are practically compelled to lend money at some price on good securities when wanted. If the Bank refused to advance gold on good securities at any price, not even consols could be sold.

In the paper alluded to, the author proposed to establish a self-acting system which would regulate the stock of gold, and this is worth examination.

The main features of the proposal are (1) the establishment of a state currency; (2) the issue of notes for small sums, even down to 10s.; (3) the convertibility into gold on demand of all State Currency notes; (4) the State Department to maintain a gold reserve of ten millions; (5) the issue of interest-bearing notes in exchange for gold to counteract any outflow trenching on the minimum of gold reserve.

It is contended that the automatic action would commence to work the moment it was apparent gold was flowing out in excess of the influx; and the plan provides that the gold which would flow in in exchange for the interest-bearing notes should be applied first, in making good the deficiency

in the reserve of gold ; and secondly, in forming a reserve for the redemption of the notes.

If this plan justified all the expectations of the author, and did not bring in its train other evils of its own, it would be a good addition to our currency system. It appears, however, on some points to be open to criticism.

The interest-bearing notes would be not strictly currency, but present investments of capital, and the rate of interest would have to be at least equal to that of consols, or they would not be bought. The interest-bearing notes would therefore be a security that would be bought and sold on the Stock Exchange. The sellers would receive payment in legal tender, gold or convertible notes. The interest-bearing notes might therefore be the means of withdrawing more gold from the reserves than flowed in on their issue.

Then, to be effective in bringing back gold to the country, the amount of interest-bearing notes would have to be large enough to absorb the unemployed reserves of gold in the hands of the public at home, and affect the general rate of interest prevailing.

Dr. Drysdale says (p. 10): "The influence of the rate of interest of the State Currency notes would be immediate and decisive on the general rate throughout the country." This, no doubt, would be so if the issue were sufficiently large to ensure that every person who wanted a currency note should be able to get it. If the supply of notes was less than the demand, they would simply go to a premium.

The price for gold involved in a sufficiently large issue of interest-bearing notes, would have to be paid for by taxation. The Government might thus by artificial means, create a demand for gold, disturbing all the natural influences of Commerce. This natural play of forces has made London the centre of financial activity and the bankers' clearing house of the world. The profits of this clearing business are

estimated at ten millions a year, which this plan might seriously imperil.

The present store of gold is generally considered much too small, but the plan under consideration would reduce it to less than one-half. Now, taking the panic of 1866 as a test, the acute stage of this lasted only four or five days. During that time the Bank advanced seventeen or eighteen millions of gold. Want of confidence is the cause of panic, and the fear of every one in such times is that he cannot get gold immediately, even though he has in hand Consols, or other unexceptionable securities. It is open to grave doubt, whether, in those four or five days, the issue of interest-bearing notes could have brought back the gold.

Another objection seems to be, that unless the interest is to be borne out of taxation, the Bank, in order to earn the interest, must lend out the gold, thus dissipating its store of gold. Proposals that the Bank of England should pay interest on its deposits, have always been held to be pernicious. The Bank of England is not like other banks, which lend out all their spare deposits and lean on it for gold.

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE IN MEDIÆVAL EUROPE.

By JAMES BIRCHALL.

IV.—THE CONFLICT OF AUTHORITY AND JURISDICTION BETWEEN THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL POWERS IN ENGLAND.

THE intimate union of Church and State during Anglo-Saxon dominion was rudely disturbed by the strong will and resolute hand of the Norman kings. These fierce rulers found in feudalism their most potent instrument for the bending of all other forces to their supreme will, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy did not escape. Bishops, transformed into feudal barons, were bound by their tenures to render allegiance to a temporal lord; and a class of churchmen arose who practically abandoned their sacred functions for the offices and honours of political administration. Inevitable as these changes were under the circumstances of the time, and advantageous to the State, the danger to the spiritual influence of the Church and its independence was very serious; and it was to avert this danger that Anselm strove and Becket sought a martyr's death. These great men, so diverse in their characters, failed to achieve the immediate object for which they contended; but they did not contend in vain. The ideal which Anselm held up before mankind did not die with him. All thoughtful and upright men believed that the Church ought to be independent within its own sphere, in order to fulfil its special mission in the world. This consensus of opinion

coincided with the pontificates of some of the ablest successors of St. Peter, and as their policy was directed to the same end, the Church of England secured its recognition as a separate state, governed by its own officials under the direction of its spiritual head in Rome, but bound to the Crown by the ties of allegiance and service attached to its temporalities. The theory of this independent existence being so directly opposed to the principles which regulated feudal society, a conflict between the rival powers was unavoidable; and as each sought to bring the other into subjection to itself, every secular and ecclesiastical authority in the kingdom became inextricably involved in the strife.

This two-fold character of the conflict will be presented in this paper—the struggle of pope and king to gain control over all ecclesiastical patronage, property, and emoluments engaging our first consideration; our second being devoted to the measures adopted for subjecting the sacerdotal caste and their peculiar courts of law to the authority of the great tribunals of the crown.

If the spiritual supremacy, acknowledged by all as pertaining to the pope, had confined itself to matters of doctrine and morals, and to clerical discipline and organisation, the jealousy of kings and parliaments would never have been aroused. It was the extravagance of priestly and pontifical pretensions and their encroachments upon moral liberty which provoked revolt, and compelled the laity and the civil power to stand on their defence. These pretensions derived considerable vigour and stimulus from the development of the Canon law, after the revived study of Roman Imperial jurisprudence in the twelfth century. But the national law also drew renewed energy from the same source, and as the two systems were quite antagonistic in their principles, and diverse in their methods of procedure, the contention between the spiritual and temporal powers

was more keenly prosecuted in the courts of justice than in the legislature. Glanville and his successors, who built up a national code out of the ancient usages and customs, were closely allied with the crown and baronage. They asserted that the customary law of the land and the King's Courts which administered it were paramount over all tribunals; and that the canon law with its courts derived what authority they possessed from the king's courts alone, and not from any sovereignty residing in the Chair of St. Peter, or inherent in the spiritual power. So Bracton, our highest legal authority for English mediæval law, lays it down that the determination of what matters are spiritual and what temporal pertains entirely to the king's courts, and that these courts have jurisdiction, not only over all rights of patronage and ecclesiastical endowments, but even over cases wherein spiritual and temporal matters and persons are commingled. In like manner, it was held that all bishoprics were in the patronage of the crown, the elective rights of chapters depending on royal licence and assent.* Churchmen, as we may suppose, did not endorse these opinions. Such monastic bodies as possessed the rights of chapters almost invariably rejected the royal nominees, and put forward candidates of their own, appealing to Rome for the confirmation of their choice. Sovereigns, unfortunately did the same, and the pontiffs, wearied with appeals, found it easier to take appointments into their own hands than to arbitrate between rival claimants. Succeeding for the most part in this usurpation, they advanced to the provision of prospective vacancies, and finally to the appropriation of benefices in the possession of private patrons. This gross abuse of their position as arbiters and supreme judges was the first cause of the ultimate estrangement of England from Rome. The scandalous exercise of their patronage for the benefit of

* Reeves' *Hist. of Eng. Law*, edited by Finlason, II, 244, Note.

aliens, who were promoted by hundreds to livings which a few rarely, and the rest never, visited, while all drew their incomes, sorely tried the patience and fidelity of the clergy, and provoked the dispossessed patrons into armed rebellion. In parliament, the barons made a bold and patriotic stand. Constituting no more than one-third of the House of Lords, the prelacy forming the remainder, it was manifest to them that, if this majority sat and deliberated in the great council of the realm, as the nominees of a foreign prince, the independence of the crown and their own legitimate influence would be seriously imperilled. Their perception of the danger was first shown in the parliament of Lincoln (1301), when they declared their determination to uphold the liberties, customs, and laws of their ancestors, and the dignity of the crown, against all papal pretensions. Subsequently, at Carlisle, they presented a long petition, asserting that the Church of England had been founded by the kings and nobles of the realm for the instruction and benefit of the people, and the maintenance of hospitality and alms; that the rights of collation and presentation to its benefices belonged to the king and his nobles, and that they would not suffer the pope to interfere with these rights, and throw the great estates which had been given for the purposes named into the hands of aliens.* The statute *De asportatis religiosorum*, prohibiting the remittance of monastic incomes to abbots and priors resident abroad was the only response to this petition at the time, and no earnest attempt was made to check encroachment until the enactment of the *First Statute of Provisors*, more than forty years later (1351). It was then ordained that all persons obtaining benefices by papal provisions should be liable to imprisonment, and that preferments to which the pope nominated should be forfeit to the crown for that turn.† Notwith-

* Reeves' *Eng. Law*, II, 264. † Stubbs, III, 314; Reeves, II, 265.

standing their general resentment of the policy of Rome towards themselves, the clergy were jealous of any diminution of its authority, and the lords spiritual withheld their assent from the statute. Their refusal, however, did not arrest the progress of events. Two years afterwards, that authority received its first effective check in the statute of *Praemunire*. It was further weakened by the English victories in France; and the pope, finding himself bound to keep on good terms with Edward, left him to deal with ecclesiastical patronage pretty much as he liked. The crown thus recovered its former control over episcopal appointments, suspended since the time of Stephen Langton, and the existing custom began of issuing to a chapter the writ of *congé d'elire*, accompanied with a letter signifying the clerk to be elected. Nevertheless, Edward, after the practice of his predecessors, dispensed with the statute as it suited his purpose; he requested papal provisions, as usual, for the bishops he promoted; while the nomination to all sees vacant by translation still remained with the pope. Many of the old abuses thus continued unabated, and although these were met by more rigorous measures in succeeding years, the collusion of popes and kings rendered them abortive. On the whole, however, the Crown strengthened the hold it had gained upon the Church, the pontiff's generally acquiescing in the appointments made, so that, on the eve of the Reformation, royal control over episcopal elections was exercised without dispute.

Roman supremacy came to an end shortly after this loss of its ecclesiastical patronage, active resistance against both beginning about the same time. The right of appeal which upheld this supremacy had never been absolutely forbidden, even by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and it was recognised in all cases wherein the Spiritual Courts were allowed jurisdiction. But if these tribunals took notice of other

matters, involving temporal interests, the King's Court issued a prohibition arresting process, and appeal to Rome of course; and in any case, whatever the nature of the question, such appeal was unlawful without royal sanction. This restraining power in the Crown was first established by a decree of the Conqueror. It was, therefore, only reasonable that the highest court in the land should give legislative authority to the decree, and prevent matters being drawn into dispute out of the realm, which the King's Court would have excluded from consideration in the Spiritual Courts within it.* Such was the legal justification of the great statutes of *Praemunire*, framed for the defence of the temporal power against the encroachments of the Roman court, just as the statutes of *Provisors* were directed against the usurpations of patronage, both working conjointly for the establishment of a royal supremacy and complete emancipation of Rome. The first of these great legislative measures (27 Edward III) condemned to outlawry, forfeiture, and imprisonment, anyone who, having prosecuted in a foreign court a suit cognisable by the law of England, should fail to answer for his contempt when summoned to do so by the sheriff's writ of *Praemunire*. Other statutes followed, until, in the 16 Richard II, the statute of *Praemunire*, specially so styled, prohibited absolutely the admission or execution of any papal bull or missive whatsoever, affecting the king, his crown, regality or realm; and all persons procuring such instruments were declared liable to the penalties already imposed—now for the first time recited as the penalties of *Praemunire*.

Judicial interpretation expanded these rigorous provisions to their utmost limits. The assumption of an office in obedience to a bull from Rome, the exercise of jurisdiction by any officer so appointed, even the recognition of his

* Reeves, II, 245, 246, Note.

authority, were all held to come within the meaning of the act, while one clause was so construed as to threaten the very existence of the spiritual courts.* The distracted condition of the country during the fifteenth century, as well as the connivance of those in authority, interfered, however, with the due observance of the statutes. Church dignitaries, some in high office, continued to act as legates and cardinals, and to hold legatine courts, in defiance of the law. One of these was Cardinal Wolsey, who found himself in a most perilous position when it suited his master to bring him to ruin. Charged with procuring bulls from Rome and acting as legate, in contravention of the statute, he was unable to plead royal sanction for his offence, because such a plea was expressly barred by an act of the 13 Richard II.† He therefore acknowledged his guilt, and submitted to conviction. But the clergy had also incurred a like sentence by their admission of his legatine jurisdiction, and this was basely used to terrify them into submission to the king's schemes against the Church. How they compounded for their transgression, and were compelled, on condition of pardon, to recognise the temporal sovereign as the "only supreme Head of the Church and clergy," we all know.

Let us now turn to the measures by which the State gradually acquired control over the landed property of the Church. This property grew immensely during the Crusading period, and, at the end of the thirteenth century, comprised nearly half the landed estates in the country. The rental of these vast domains, enormous as it was, did not equal the income derived from tithes, oblations, and other spiritualities; while the fees of the ecclesiastical courts furnished an additional revenue. The possession of all this wealth, far exceeding that of the crown and lay baronage

* Perry, *Hist. of the Eng. Ch.*, I, 492.

† Froude, *Hist.*, I, 295, Note; Reeves, II, 448.

together,* naturally aroused the jealousy of the secular power, especially when the owners of it claimed to be free from all liabilities to the state, except in the form of benevolences, or gifts made of their own free will, assessed by themselves in Convocation. This independent position they found to be untenable, when Henry III and the popes mutually supported each other in the plunder of their revenues; and when Edward I came into power, they were called upon to contribute to the national burdens like the rest of the community. In the prosecution of this policy the king violated all constitutional usage by forcing subsidies from them without the concurrence of Convocation. When they stood at bay, and sheltered themselves behind the papal bull prohibiting the taxation of ecclesiastical property by the civil power, he outlawed the whole body, from the primate downwards, and confiscated all their lay fees, goods and chattels. This stern treatment reduced them to submission, and the pope (Boniface VIII), then in the heat of his quarrel with the French king on the same question, modified his bull, and surrendered the clergy to their temporal lord. The spirit of constitutional liberty, absent from the strife in France, evolved good out of it in England. Edward refrained from any further arbitrary impositions upon the clergy, and they agreed to grant an aid, whenever the Commons did so, without recourse to Rome. A fresh contention arose when the crown lawyers inserted in the writs which summoned the bishops to parliament the *prae-munientes* clause, commanding the attendance of proctors from the chapters and beneficed clergy, to consult with the lower house as to the aid to be granted to the crown. The clergy strongly opposed this device for depriving them of their ancient right to grant money in their own assembly.

* Pearson, *Early and Middle England*, II, 496, 497, 512; Stubbs, II, 551, 552; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, IX, 16-24.

Their proctors declined to take any part with the Commons in the matter, and at the end of about fifty years they ceased to attend, although they are summoned in the form named to this day.*

The efforts of the great Plantagenet legislator to prevent the Church acquiring any more landed property encountered a most pertinacious resistance from the clergy, and the ingenious devices to which they resorted for the enrichment of their order, in spite of the law, form an exceedingly interesting chapter in legal history.

The grant of lands to a religious body changed the nature of their tenure. Thenceforth they were held in "*frankalmoigne*," or free alms, released from all earthly services to the lord. But the tenants being "men of Holy Church" were bound of right and duty, and by the conditions of the gift, to say prayers and perform masses and other divine offices for the grantors of those lands and their heirs for ever. There existed no redress if these spiritual services were neglected, except by complaint to the ordinary; but the *Statute of Westminster the Second* (13 Edward I) affirmed that in such cases of negligence the endowments should revert to the donors.† These pious gifts were manifestly detrimental to the national interests, since, apart from their claimed exemption from state burdens, the crown suffered by the diminution of knight's fees, and the feudal lords by the loss of the valuable payments incident to military tenure. For these reasons, it had always been held that the legality of such donations depended upon the license of the crown and the mesne lord. And so they remained, free from statutory restriction, until the Great Charter (9 Henry III) declared that not only were gifts of land to a religious house unlawful, but that the custom of monastic orders accepting estates without license, and then

* Stubbs, II, 195, 196. † Reeves, II, 67, 68, Notes.

instantly leasing them back to the donors (which instantaneous transfer avoided forfeiture), was also contrary to law.

Monastic bodies soon found means for evading the new law. They took lands on extraordinarily long leases, the terms of which practically made them perpetual; and they also purchased estates to be held *bona fide* of themselves. They further discovered that the words of the Charter only extended to houses (religious) or corporations aggregate, and that corporations sole, such as bishops, abbots, parsons were still free to receive grants of land as heretofore. Religious men therefore continued to enrich themselves and the Church in the old way, and it became necessary to draw up more precise regulations. This was effected, as it was thought, by the *First Statute of Mortmain, De religiosis* (7 Edward I), which prohibited all alienations of land to the Church, whether by purchase, lease, or gift, or by any art or pretext whatever, under pain of forfeiture.* Although the language of this statute was clear and comprehensive, the keen and searching wit of the clerical lawyers discovered its defects, and a way of escape. Perceiving that the words could only be applied to gifts and conveyances by the ordinary feudal form called *Livery of Seisin*, they advised the religious house, or other intended recipient of the land, to set up a fictitious title thereto, and institute a suit for its recovery against the owner, who, of course, allowed judgment to go against him by default. In this way originated, it is said, the device of conveying land, without the formal delivery of possession, known as *Common Recovery*, which remained in force until 1834. Although this proceeding was carried through by collusion and fraud, the justices held that land so appropriated, not being transferred by any method hitherto prohibited, but by ordinary process of law,

* Reeves, II, 65, 66.

no infringement of the statute had been made. These fraudulent recoveries thenceforward multiplied so fast that at the end of six years parliament was urged to interfere again, and ordain, in the *Statute of Westminster the Second* (13 Edward I), that all such suits should be tried before a jury, when, upon the discovery of fraud, forfeiture should follow as for other alienations in Mortmain.* The statute further provided that if lands once given to the Church were alienated therefrom, they should be returned to the donor or his heir—a provision subsequently confirmed by the statute *Quia emptores* (18 Edward I), which, while permitting freeholders to sell their lands and tenements so as the feudal conditions should remain, expressly excluded lands in mortmain.†

The Crown lawyers were evidently resolved to be on their guard against the Churchmen, but they were not yet as astute as their clerical rivals. Some years after this (27 Edward I), it was ordained that before any royal license was granted for any privilege, as for the holding of a fair or market, or for an alienation in mortmain, a writ *ad quod damnum* should be sued for out of Chancery, to enquire whether such concession would be to the prejudice of the crown or the public. The clergy at once construed this act so as to render the permission of the mesne lord unnecessary in any proposed alienation, and after a few years' enjoyment of their widened liberty in this respect, they were again bound by an enactment (34 Edward I) declaring that the permission thus set aside was essential to the legality of every alienation in mortmain, and that the royal license should be withheld unless the lord's assent was shown by a letter patent under his seal.‡

Yet for all these sharp measures, the spirit of the clergy remained undaunted, and the resources of their legal inge-

* Reeves, II, 65–69.

† *Ibid.*, II, 130.

‡ Reeves, II, 134, 135.

nunity were still unexhausted. Deprived of the means of aggrandisement by gifts, conveyances, leases, purchases, or collusive actions for recovery, they now drew a final weapon from Roman jurisprudence, and introduced the conception and practice of *Uses and Trusts* into English law. This device gave them the beneficial ownership of an estate, while the nominal possession was conveyed in legal form to some friend whose rank and station served as a guarantee of his power to protect it as their trustee.

Now the Common Law courts recognised no persons as landholders, except in their feudal relationship, and therefore this new class of tenant, called the *cestui que use*, because he was possessed of the usufruct or profits, escaped the charges incident to military tenure. Nor was this the only advantage. It was soon found that the disposal of his lands to a friend for the use of himself enabled a landholder to defeat his creditors, evade attainder and the penalties of treason, or the charging of portions; for although the courts of Common Law refused to acknowledge such a palpable evasion of the statutes, the Court of Chancery, wherein ecclesiastics presided, claiming jurisdiction as a court of conscience, compelled the nominal feoffee to observe his bargain and account for the rents and emoluments to his *cestui que use*, the religious house or other to whom the use had been conveyed. The serious loss of feudal revenue which followed the general adoption of this novel expedient in English law, and the secrecy with which an estate could be actually conveyed, so different from the publicity required for *Livery of Seisin* at common law, led to the interference of the legislature on various occasions during the reigns of the later Plantagenets. The earliest and most important of the laws then made (15 Richard II) declared that lands conveyed to anyone for the use of a religious house or person should be liable to forfeiture, as an alienation in mortmain. A pro-

vision also extended to lands purchased or given for the use of guilds and fraternities,* and another struck at the contrivance of purchasing property for the pretended use of it as a burial ground. Two years later, another expedient was also declared unlawful and liable to the penalties—that of the clergy aiding and encouraging their villeins to marry heiresses, so that the inheritance should fall into their possession by the right which a lord had over the property of his villein.†

The clergy had now used up all their legal armoury, but before I pass on to the second part of my paper it must be observed that, throughout the whole period of the legislation now passed under review, it was in the power of the crown, by granting the license, to remit the forfeiture as far as its own rights were concerned, but this license could not be given unless an enquiry under the writ *ad quod damnum* before mentioned had first been made and satisfied. As for the mesne lords, they gradually decayed through the operation of the statute *Quia emptores* (18 Edward I), and the assent of the few who remained may be considered as of no account. Finally, no alienations could be transacted except between living persons (*inter vivos*), the power to devise land by will not existing until authorised by a statute in the 32 Henry VIII.‡

We have now to consider in what way this general spirit of resistance against priestly aggression manifested itself in the courts of law. The great ecclesiastical measure of the Conqueror's reign which detached all spiritual causes, persons, and things from the cognisance of the civil judge was not productive of any significant consequences for a long time. English canon law then consisted only of a number of detached local or occasional rules, mainly derived from

* Stubbs, II, 485. † Reeves, II, 454.

‡ See generally Blackstone, Book II, chap. 18.

Saxon episcopal canons and books of discipline, without any recognition beyond the realm. But Hildebrandine policy was fast gathering into the one common centre of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all the scattered customs and usages of Church administration; and when the revived study of the Roman Civil Law led to the codification of papal decrees and the constitutions of oecumenical and provincial councils, a great body of authoritative jurisprudence came into existence, claiming the obedience of the whole of Latin Christendom. Then it was that the English priesthood first obtained that definite and distinctive position which made them a separate order within the realm, independent of the civil magistrate, and amenable only to their own spiritual courts. Such a position had been held by their brethren on the Continent from the days of Theodoric and Justinian; it was sanctioned by the decrees of emperors and the canons of general councils; and as the laws before mentioned gave warrant for many other peculiar privileges, their promulgation under pontifical authority, combined with the new impetus imparted to legal study, incited the hierarchy to claim for themselves and their novel tribunals the most extraordinary powers. Resistance to these pretensions forced itself upon the laity as a national duty. Tenacious of their traditionary customs, and animated by that insular prejudice against foreigners and foreign ideas which colours the national character to this day, they repelled the introduction of a code of laws alien to their feelings and unknown to their forefathers; and when the prelates, led by Bishop Grossteste, proposed at the parliament of Merton that children should be made legitimate by the subsequent marriage of their parents, because canon and civil law so directed, the barons promptly replied that they would not change the laws of England. The like temper was displayed by them a century later, when they declared again in

parliament (11 Richard II) that "the realm of England hath never been until this hour, neither by the consent of our lord the king and the lords of parliament shall it ever be, ruled or governed by the civil law."* Nevertheless, the principles and processes of the obnoxious code took root and grew, because the great law offices of the crown were in the hands of Churchmen, who also had the control of the schools and universities. The works, moreover, of Glanville, Bracton, Fleta, Britton, and other common lawyers of that day, who began to systematise the ancient customs, show not only considerable acquaintance with the civil law, but also the very powerful influence which the study of that law had produced upon them.†

The Common Law consisted of a number of multifarious decisions of the local courts, founded upon popular usages and maxims, together with the few statutes which had been incorporated in it. The rigid adherence to established precedent, rather than to legal principles, which formed the peculiarity of its administration, rendered it extremely simple and intelligible to the people. It commended itself to them because they had made it; and as it grew out of themselves, it exactly suited their social condition. But since that primitive time, a more elaborate system of government, and a more complicated organisation of society, had grown up; and these, together with new international relations, demanded judicial institutions whose judges would look to something higher than precedent, and be guided in their judgments by principles of scientific law and equity. The introduction of the new legal learning supplied this demand. In the course of a very few years, it created that band of learned men who, beginning under Henry II, himself no mean lawyer, effected first the remark-

* Blackstone, *Introd.*, sect. I, 19.

† Stubbs, *Lect.*, 304, 305; Reeves, I, 531.

able judicial reforms of his reign, and afterwards moulded the ancient customs to suit the altered circumstances of civil life, developing from them, with great subtlety and ingenuity, new principles and processes to meet new cases.* Popular repugnance to the civil law, therefore, could not have arisen from an intelligent acquaintance with it, nor as yet from any abhorrence of those doctrines inimical to national freedom which the civil lawyers of the seventeenth century drew from it. It was only upon ecclesiastical questions that the laity fell under its authority, and as even then it was inoperative except through the machinery of the canon law, the introduction of the Roman code would probably have passed unnoticed, if the episcopal courts had confined themselves to those functions which the secular courts could not perform. For it should be observed that the clergy themselves were not unanimous in their advocacy of the civil law. The reforms of the first two Henries had created a large bureaucracy of itinerant judges and commissioners of assize, who were, of necessity, mainly drawn from the only learned body then existing. All these clerical officials followed a purely secular career, looking solely to the state for promotion, and not much impressed with spiritual influences. Following the common law as a profession, they were as much opposed to the Roman law as the barons, and equally jealous of its professors, canonists and civilians, who rarely became judges in the courts of Westminster. But their engagement in secular employment was a violation of the canons, and their attachment to the interests of the crown, an impediment to the growth of papal supremacy. They could not serve God and Mammon. The Roman pontiffs, accordingly discouraged all such participation in State affairs; they commanded the prelates to withdraw from their secular offices, and finally prohibited the clergy to read or

* See Reeves, I, 495, 496.

study the common law. From that time, clerical judges and advocates gradually disappeared from the king's courts,* except the Chancery, their places being taken by laymen who had become versed in the common law by the discharge of executive office, or by education in the Inns of Court and Chancery, which were then founded for the express purpose of training "apt and eager" students in the knowledge and practice of the laws of the land (1290-92). The common lawyers, whom these circumstances brought into existence, soon began to assert the superiority of the national tribunals over all other judicatures, and to question the privileges and immunities of the clergy.

The most crying evil was the persistent and unreasonable demand of the clergy to be a law unto themselves, notwithstanding the Constitutions of Clarendon. In the code of clerical privileges compiled for Bishop Grossteste by an English canonist, when these Constitutions had been on the statute book for nearly a century, assumptions were put forward altogether subversive of civil order. Every priest was free from apprehension by a royal officer, except he were caught in the very act of committing a felony. He could take his cattle out of the pound without being answerable for his trespass; damage done to his property, whether by legal distraint or otherwise, was sacrilege; he was free from all tolls, rates, or taxation demanded by the civil power, and his church and churchyard, being consecrated ground, gave refuge to all fugitives from justice, except burglars and highwaymen. The invasion of any one of these, or any other of his privileges, exposed the offender to the curse of excommunication—a doom which in those days meant exclusion from civil society and the protection of the law, as well as from salvation.† The most pernicious of all clerical immunities was that known under the title of "*Benefit of*

* See Perry's *Eng. Ch.*, I, 400, 401. † See Reeves, I, 117, 517.

Clergy," because, restricted originally to *bona fide* clerics, it was extended, not only to all persons engaged in the service of the Church, but also to their servants and domestics, and in the course of time to anyone, tonsured or not, who could read the "neck verse," that is, the first verse of the fifty-first Psalm.* The facility for escape thus offered to offenders led to frequent altercations between the judges and the ordinaries, the latter being occasionally subjected to heavy fines for not enforcing the test honestly.† Even when a culprit was really in holy orders, and his trial in the spiritual court resulted in a conviction, so many complicated forms had to be gone through before he could be degraded and remanded to the temporal court that he generally escaped in the end.‡

The efforts of the legislature to regulate or curtail this prescriptive privilege were not very successful. The King's justices, however, met it with the sternest resistance. A suspicion that clerical offenders did not receive adequate punishment when delivered over to the ordinary, led to an enactment in the *Statute of Westminster the First* (1 Edward I), which ordained that clerks who had been found guilty in the king's court should in no manner be set at large without undergoing canonical purgation.§ Fastening on a certain expression in this enactment, the judges gave it such a sharp interpretation that the clergy found themselves deprived of their previous privilege of being tried only in the bishop's court, and compelled to undergo a preliminary trial in the lay court first, where, in the event of conviction, they were forthwith condemned to forfeiture of lands and goods.|| The rising race of common lawyers and lay justices, in fact, resolutely set their minds against clerical immu-

* Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, II, 225, Note. † Reeves, II, 428; III, 40.

‡ Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, I, 196, 197. § Reeves, II, 47.

|| Reeves, II, 165, 166; Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, II, 225.

nities, and although the practices of their courts were not always consistent with this spirit, they do not seem to have respected a prisoner's claim to "*clergy*" if the ordinary disowned him or made no demand for him; while they held that the ordinary should be fined, as well for refusing a clerk who could read, as for claiming one who could not.* This spirited conduct drew frequent complaints from the hierarchy, and, in answer to one of them presented in the 25 Edward III the statute *De Clero* was passed, confirming "*benefit of clergy*" to all manner of clerks, as well secular as religious, except in the case of high treason; but it was also enjoined that the bishop should take care that a clerical culprit was committed to safe custody and duly punished. After much varying treatment of the custom, the government at one time respecting it and at another disregarding it, parliament at last dealt with it more vigorously in the 4 Henry VII. All lay offenders were then prohibited from claiming "*clergy*" more than once; and to prevent escape in future, convicts for murder were to be branded with the letter "M" on the left thumb, and other felons with a "T." On a second offence, actual clerks were bound to produce their letters of orders or certificates from the ordinary on a fixed day, and on failure thereof to forfeit their "*clergy*" forthwith. Other statutes, passed in this and the next reign, curtailed the privilege still further; but, dismembered as it was, it died hard, escape by reading the "neck verse" remaining till the reign of Queen Anne, and the last remnants of the ancient usage existing till the reign of George IV, when it finally passed into oblivion.

The judicial immunities claimed by the clergy, prolific as they were of continual dissension, did not give rise to such general ill feeling as the inquisitorial proceedings of their courts. The censorship of public morals naturally fell to the

* Reeves, III, 41.

clergy, and for a time they performed this duty with integrity and disinterestedness, seeking rather the reformation of offenders and the eradication of sin, than any personal advantage to themselves. In this respect, the administration of their tribunals contrasted sharply with that of the temporal courts, which, regarding society from a purely secular point of view, estimated offences only as matters of pecuniary loss to the crown and the persons aggrieved.* The tone of public feeling was, therefore, rather in favour of this clerical surveillance of manners and conduct, so long as the practice of it corresponded with the original design. And as men were then accustomed to sumptuary laws and other regulations of their personal life and habits, which we should now resent as prying and inquisitive, they did not feel the censorship of their moral life to be oppressive. That this sentiment became well fixed in the national mind is seen by its long survival after the Reformation among the Calvinistic communities of Scotland, the English Puritans, and the New England colonies of North America.

The Church courts unfortunately fell away from their high ideal, and began to commute their spiritual censures for pecuniary fines, rating each offence against morality at its specific money value in the episcopal tables. These fines being payable to the judge himself, the archdeacon or the ordinary, the Consistory Courts soon began to pervert justice to their own selfish ends. Their sumptnours and apparitors traversed town and country in order to scout out the secret sins of their neighbours; and as these officials lived by the fees they secured, no artifice was too mean and despicable for the discovery and conviction of delinquents.† This incessant *espionage* at length completely turned the sentiments of the people against ecclesiastical

* Pearson, *Early and Mid. Eng.*, I, 263.

† See "The Friar's Tale," in *Chaucer*.

authority; it added bitterness to every controversy concerning questions of judicature, and formed a very powerful factor in the subsequent overthrow of sacerdotalism in England. It was hardly possible that the lay officers of justice should regard these doings with indifference, and not make some efforts to arrest the growth of such an insidious jurisdiction. And, independent of this, the demands of the canon law were so rigorous that, if they had been left unchallenged, no other judicial system could have existed on an equality with it. A conflict, therefore, between it and the common law was inevitable, and it was the numerous and formidable aggressions of the former upon the domain of the latter that brought on the provocation.* Nearly all the questions in controversy lay on or near the boundary line between spirituals and temporals, and it was not so much the questions themselves as their numerous inferential relations that caused rupture. For instance, all matters of ecclesiastical property, temporalities, advowsons, and the right to tithes were cognisable by the king's courts; but what articles were titheable and what were not, and who was a fit and proper clerk to be presented to a living, were questions belonging to the spiritual court.†

Perjury, again, and the breach of an oath, or contract, being moral offences, came under ecclesiastical censure. But it was held by the common lawyers that the matters out of which such offences came should be of a spiritual nature, and that, where the breach of an oath or bargain had reference to money, land, or other property, the lay court alone had jurisdiction.

So, again, there were distinctions between debt and theft, as secular matters, and credit and dishonesty as questions of morals. Matrimony, being a sacrament, was a spiritual concern, but the lay judge adjudicated on the dowry of the

* Pearson, II, 485-487. † Reeves, I, 197; III, 95-101.

bride. He might take cognisance of the succession to property, but the legitimacy of the heir depended upon the decision of the bishop.

These niceties of discrimination may be further seen in the cases wherein the superior courts of the crown issued writs to their rivals prohibiting them from proceeding in suits properly cognisable at common law. Bracton, who lived in the period between the great struggle under Henry II and the era of anti-clerical legislation which began with the reigns of the Edwards, treats this subject very fully, and I must refer the reader to that authority for further details, observing generally that the jurisdiction of a cause depended either upon the parties and the cause of the action together, or on the cause of action singly. If, for example, a clerk sued a layman, or a layman a clerk, or even if the suit lay between two clerks, in the ecclesiastical court, in a matter purely temporal, a prohibition would lie, since the cause of the action formed the principal ground of jurisdiction. The cause of the action would also change the nature of that action from spiritual to temporal, or the reverse. In this way, a chattel became spiritual when tithed; but its sale as a tithe made it again temporal and subject to the temporal court. Houses and other lay fees in cities and boroughs, when bequeathed by will, were construed to be spiritual; but the execution of the will restored them again to lay jurisdiction.*

The clergy did not at all relish these prohibitory interferences with the authority of their judicatures, and they frequently petitioned the Crown to put a stop to them. In the body of Constitutions which Archbishop Boniface promulgated at Lambeth in 1261, he dealt with them in the loftiest of hierarchical tones, forbidding any prelate to appear before, or to obey, any secular tribunal, since no

* Reeves, I, 436.

power was given to laymen to judge God's anointed.* Clerical judges, however, were too expert in the use of legal devices not to be able to find some means of baffling their lay tormentors,† and the free use of sentences of excommunication was found to be of powerful service in days when such sentences were regarded with dread. But the lay judges never receded from the position they took up at the time when ecclesiastics began to withdraw from the secular courts, and in this determined attitude they were always supported by the nobility and the commons. Twenty years after Archbishop Boniface had denounced the temporal courts, another occupant of his see, Archbishop Peckham, condemned their action with equal vehemence, and, in the name of the Convocation assembled at Lambeth, presented to the king articles of complaint against the temporal courts and their prohibitory interferences with those of the Church. The king replied by the publication of an ordinance, restricting the spiritual jurisdiction to matrimonial and testamentary cases, followed by a writ, directed to the Bishop of Norwich, which defined the limits more precisely. This document, called from its initial words "*Circumspecte Agatis*," has always received the authority of a statute, and it directs that the bishop shall not be punished for holding jurisdiction over merely spiritual things, naming the following—offences for which penance was due, tithes, mortuaries, the maintenance of churches and churchyards, injuries done to clerks, perjury, and defamation.‡ The judges thereupon decided that these instances so specified in the royal writ marked the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that questions as to the rights of advowson, which had always been hotly contended between the rival courts, breaches of contract, and all others not recited in the writ pertained

* Reeves, I, 517–523. † See Reeves, I, 437; II, 125.

‡ Reeves, II, 124; Stubbs, II, 119.

exclusively to the common law courts.* A modern writer, himself an ecclesiastic, considers the statute to have been a fair and equitable settlement of a troublesome dispute.† But the clergy of the time did not so regard it, and their courts continued to assert their right to judge all matters wherein a clerk was in any way mixed up. Their discontent was again manifested by the presentation of a more formidable petition (9 Edward II), containing sixteen articles, complaining of many violations of the statute with respect to prohibitions, and reciting numerous other aggressions upon their authority in matters of excommunication, rights of sanctuary, and the arrest of clerks accused of felony. The king's answers to these complaints seem to have satisfied the petitioners, since the statute then enacted, and known as "*Articuli Cleri*," gave rise to no further contention until after the Reformation.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the general obloquy which attached to the Church courts, no serious attempt was made to curtail their powers during the religious revolutions of the sixteenth century. They recovered, on the contrary, much of their ancient arbitrary authority, especially during the reign of Mary, and more prohibitions were issued against them, in the next two reigns, than in any former period. The High Churchmen, in the reign of James, were not disposed to submit to the control of the civil power, and they indulged in schemes of sacerdotal independence, hardly less arrogant than those which fired the imaginations of the most ultra-hierarchical of their predecessors in the Middle Ages. Led by Archbishop Bancroft, they presented to the Star Chamber a new series of grievances—*Articuli Cleri*—affirming the equality of their courts with those of the common law, and denying the right of any

* Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, II, 224, 225.

† Perry, *Hist. of Ch. of Eng.*, I, 383.

tribunal, except the Court of Chancery, to issue prohibitions against them. The question was debated by the primate and the whole of the judges, not without considerable asperity, but the latter vindicated their right to take cognisance of every collateral matter springing out of an ecclesiastical suit, and they repelled, as an unwarrantable presumption, the attack which was made upon the superior jurisdiction of the common law courts.*

Here I close this review of the relations which existed between Church and State in the Middle Ages, and the question may now be put, What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter?

In the beginning, we find a scattered band of earnest men, proscribed by a world which they strive to regenerate and save. Raised to authority and honour, after centuries of persecution, by an empire already given over to anathema, their ideal of a kingdom of righteousness, outside an unregenerate world, is lost in the State, which makes them equal with principalities and powers. The Empire disappears, former things pass away, all things become new; and that primitive band has swollen into a great society and a dominant priesthood, before whom the new nations bend in reverence and awe. Then it was that the Church missed the golden opportunity which never returned. - Failing to spiritualise society with the precepts of the Gospel, by the sacrifice of self, and the disdain of worldly honour and riches, the predominant spirits among the clergy plunged into the wildness and warfare of the time, while the pious and thoughtful retreated to the cloister to dream again of the ideal kingdom whose speedy inauguration, with the return of Him who foreshadowed it, they believed to be close at hand. This hope, so fondly cherished, was doomed to painful disappointment. But the ideal never vanished, and princes and prelates occa-

* Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, I, 324.

sionally arose who indulged in the conception of a Christian dominion wherein Church and State should be one, and the fear of God would be the fear of the King. While this Utopian vision enraptured the minds of ascetic theorists, the new nations were roughly building up their governments on the legal traditions and customs of their forefathers; a social organisation, based on principles repugnant to the Gospel, grew up beside the ecclesiastical organisation, and invaded it; and a feudalised Church succumbed to the headstrong will of a feudalised State. Yet not without a struggle, or without conferring incalculable benefits upon mankind. Charged with a mission which all men regarded as divine, the Church, throughout all her vicissitudes, persistently held up to men the higher aims of life; and in an age notorious more than any since for love of bloodshed, for pride of birth and contempt for the lowly born, she enforced the doctrine of human brotherhood and equality, dignified labour, urged with special force the duties of love, compassion, and forgiveness, and protected the poor.

The direct application of these humane principles, and of the demands of the moral law to the daily transactions of the world, was the professed object of her tribunals, and the discipline they administered; that men might be taught to look upon the spiritual side of life and esteem themselves, above all other considerations, as citizens of a divine kingdom.

Why, then, did the Church fail to realise this sublime ideal? In the first place, she sought to make men moral and religious by pains and penalties, rather than by persuasion and conviction. Thinking to fence in society with a system so perfect as to make error impossible, she multiplied the minutiae of her disciplinary code, until, like the Pharisees of old, she laid burdens upon men's shoulders grievous to be borne, and they rebelled against her yoke.

In the next place, while the Church endeavoured to overrule the State, in the belief that it was possible to establish, with the help of the secular arm, the same divine order which regulated the universe, she failed to see, as she fails to see now in other concerns, that the world was growing beyond her tutelage—that men were beginning to be conscious of the duty of self-government, and of the truth, proclaimed in the beginning, that the true kingdom of God was within each individual soul, and not a visible organization of ranks and degrees and external observances. The conception, moreover, that citizenship in itself might be Christian, irrespective of the secular magistrate or of any recognized spiritual authority, though faintly shadowed in Chivalry, never presented itself to the minds of predominant Churchmen. In those days spiritual censures entailed civic disabilities and penalties—the excommunicate was also an outlaw, the heretic, condemned by the bishop, met his doom under the hands of the sheriff.

And finally, the Church failed because she was not content with the simple moral government of men. She found in their sins and peccadilloes, prolific sources of revenue and aggrandisement. Lust of gain and of political power ruined her spiritual censorship, just as her religious orders, by their luxury and pride, lost the respect and admiration once elicited by their apostolic poverty and humility. Wealthy beyond all existing kingdoms, and more potent by her acknowledged command of spiritual legions, than they by their hosts of chivalry, she descended into the political arena, to intrigue and contend for lands and lucre and carnal influence among men. Thus lowering herself to competition with the State, while she proclaimed herself to be its superior, her union with it, for any beneficial end, became an impossibility, and in the strife for the mastery, defeat inevitably fell upon the combatant which threw away the sword of victory.

If these considerations commend themselves to our judgment, as fairly warranted by the essays now brought to a close, one conclusion alone remains—namely—that the true solution of the problem of Church and State, which vexed our forefathers for ages, lies within reach of us, the inheritors of their labours.

A kingdom, wherein morality is promoted by just and beneficent laws ; and religion in its various forms of worship and faith, is sustained by the voluntary associations of the citizens, uninterfered with and uncontrolled by the civil magistrate, except so far as is desirable for the general peace and welfare—the reality in short and not the ideal of—a Free Church in a Free State.

MORALS AND MANNERS, 1740-1840; A CENTURY OF ENGLISH LIFE.*

By JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S.



MY object this evening is to bring before you, as vividly as I can within the compass of a short paper, the life and manners of the English people during the century ending 1840, that is, down to a time well within the recollection of some of us here to-night. It will be our object to try to realize the free current of national life in England, by studying the habits, customs, and social condition of the people, and in this way we shall get a better idea of the progress of the nation than from the orthodox historians. For the old "drum-and-trumpet" histories were filled with wars and battles, the intrigues of courts, the rise and fall of dynasties, the doings of kings and princes, their queens and mistresses, the lords of the Council and all the nobility. But they passed over, as beneath the dignity of history, all those details bearing on the true state of the nation which we are about to study.

Among the various sources of information obtainable, none are so vivid and direct as the contemporary pictures;

* The paper was illustrated by the exhibition of three hundred contemporary prints by Hogarth, Gillray, Rowlandson, Isaac and George Cruikshank, Bunbury, Woodward, &c. Also ancient bonnets and hats, flint and steel, old knives and forks, miniatures, and other curios. For most of the following reproductions I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Joseph Grego, of London, who very kindly lent the blocks. The rest were specially done for this paper.

and, having gathered together through many years a large collection of these, I have placed a selection from them on the walls as the best possible illustrations of our subject. Let me warn you beforehand that the morals and manners of our forefathers were vastly different to ours, and that many a capital picture I have had reluctantly to withdraw because it offended against the proprieties of 1892. Before the period of which I propose to speak very few English pictures of contemporary manners are obtainable; the majority are Dutch or French. But England was then so fortunate as to possess in William Hogarth a native artist of transcendent merit who, in portraying the very life of his time, had no equal in this or any other country. His works are a complete cyclopædia of manners and fashions from 1730 to 1764. There we see

our sturdy
forefathers,
decked in the
three-cornered
cocked-hats,
the great horse
hair wigs, the
knee-breeches
and clumsy
square-toed
shoes which
had been worn
with scarcely
any alteration
from the days



of William and Anne. And with them are mingled the beaux of the time, a quaint, picturesque generation, clad in bright-hued coats with brighter buttons, and elaborately embroidered waistcoats descending almost to the knees, laced ruffles, silk stockings, knee breeches, and buckled

THE CARD PARTY, 1779.



The skilful nymph reviews her force with care.
"Let spades be Trumps," she said, and trumps they were.

POPE.



shoes; wigs of the strangest fashion, and of every shape and size; powder and pigtails, stars and garters. And the merry crowd of laced, starched, and powdered beaux pay their adoration to flounced and painted belles, their faces further embellished with black patches, their dresses puffed out with hoops and pillows, their hair powdered and decked with jewels and feathers. In the open streets were seen noble lords wearing their blue ribbons, stars and garters; bishops looked venerable in lawn, with huge white wigs; judges were solemn in black robes and perukes. Nor did Hogarth fail to paint the life of the working classes as well. With his invaluable assistance, and that of other later artists, here represented, a capital idea of their times may be obtained.

We shall begin by describing the state of the public roads, outside the towns. These were bad indeed; road-making as an art was unknown, until MacAdam, in 1819, first showed our forefathers how roads should be made. Until then, they were content to thrust big stones into the holes, which these more or less adequately filled. Then, on top of all, were put smaller stones, picked up from the fields, and not broken at all. Such roads were liable to be completely disorganized by streams of water in winter, dislodging the boulders, and the sinking of a chaise in a hole was a frequent incident.

A gentleman who had made a large fortune abroad, returning to England in 1762, resolved to revisit his paternal home in Norfolk. He performed the journey from London to Norwich, a distance of a hundred and fourteen miles, in three days by the mail coach. Twenty miles of country roads remained, for which he ordered a coach and six horses, and set out. After struggling on for some miles, the horses became engulfed in a black, miry pool, his coach followed, and the merchant was dragged out of the window by two

cowherds, who mounted him on one of the strongest horses, and thus he escaped back to Norwich. But nothing could ever induce him to resume the search for his sister and his ancestral home.

Ponderous waggons toiled along the highroads, drawn by long teams of powerful horses; these carried the goods that would bear jolting, and also the poorer travellers, taking from ten days to a fortnight to accomplish the journey from York to London. The costlier articles, as glass, china, plate, were carried on pack-horses through bye lanes and woods, the packmen usually travelling together for protection. Mail coaches and chaises were used by the richer classes, and great was the risk they ran from the highway robbers who abounded, as they were grimly reminded by occasionally passing the body of one of these rotting on a gibbet by the wayside. People in those days made their wills before starting on a journey.

Towards the end of the century which I am describing, matters had much improved: the highroads generally were kept in a state of excellent repair, and the mail coaches, thanks to frequent relays of horses, performed their journeys with regularity and expedition. Yet even so late as 1834, when our old friend, Sir James Picton, made his first journey to London, he started at 5 a.m. by mail coach, and was two days on the way. From Birmingham he wrote to his wife: "When I set out from home this morning I must confess I felt my heart swell in my bosom at leaving, though but for a time, all my soul holds dear in this world." And he had much reason for anxiety. On the way he was exposed, as an outside passenger, to rain, sleet, and snow. Not a newspaper but was full of coach accidents. In winter it was no uncommon thing for the coach to become buried in a snowdrift, and have to be dug out. Or the coach might break down, a wheel come off, or an axle or



Thomas Rowlandson.

A SUDDEN SQUALL IN HYDE PARK.

1791.

a pole break; or if, overloaded, it got into a rut, why, over it went. Thus fourteen outsiders were spilt from one coach; all were severely injured, and one died. The horses, too, were a continual source of danger. It was essentially a horsey age, since the only means of travelling for any distance were on horseback, or by horses. Every man could ride, and many wore top boots and knee-breeches when out



THE OXFORD COACH, OXFORD, 1824.—Robert Cruikshank.

of doors. Ladies also rode a good deal, whilst the farmers' wives rode to and from market seated on pillions behind their husbands. The journeys by water were equally slow and risky. A regiment of soldiers was sent down from London to Liverpool in 1801, by canal boat, and they were a fortnight on the way. So late as 1818 intercourse with the Cheshire side of the Mersey was chiefly by small open boats,



Accidents will happen to the best. Apparent 'Gentlemen'!

threepence being charged for each passenger, sixpence on Sundays.

The first paddle-wheel boat on the Mersey was worked by horses, which went round and round in a gin, and when the journey was ended the poor horses were turned out for a time to stagger about covered with sweat. There were no steamers on the Thames before 1801 or on the Mersey before 1815, and it was some years later before they became common. For such long and venturesome voyages as from London to Brighton, rarely undertaken, boats called hoys were used, with a mainsail and boom and rigged like a cutter. People evidently thought a voyage a desperate undertaking, for, in a tract published by a clergyman in 1807, describing his voyage to Ramsgate, he thus writes :—“Many of us who went on board had left our dearer comforts behind us. ‘Ah,’ said I, ‘so must it be, my soul, when the Master comes, and calleth for thee. My tender wife ! my tender babes ! my cordial friends !’” etc. And he winds up with :—“About 10 o’clock of Friday night we were brought safely into the harbour of Margate. How great are the advantages of navigation ! By the skill and care of three men and a boy, a number of persons were in safety conveyed from one part to another of the kingdom.” Long journeys were rarely undertaken in those days, and most people knew but little of the outer world beyond their own parish. In our friend Picton’s boyhood, “the whole number of persons leaving Liverpool in one day would not anything like fill a single railway train at the present time.”

From the roads and travelling we turn to the streets. These, as we see by Hogarth’s pictures, were in his time often left entirely unpaved ; when paved, it was with large cobblestones. The foot-pavement was always narrow, there was no kerbstone, and, except in a few of the best streets, was paved with small stones, “petrified kidneys,” terrible

to tender feet. The streets were also full of holes, dead cats and dogs and other offal abounded. The drainage was bad, and generally ran down the middle of the narrow streets. These were lighted only by flickering oil lamps placed very sparingly at long intervals, which served but to make the darkness more visible; and yawning cellar-holes everywhere laid traps for unwary passengers. Those who could afford it hired link boys, carrying lighted torches,



FAMILY DUTY, 1822.—Robert Cruikshank.

to go before them at nights. People went out as little as possible in bad weather, and to escape the mud the men wore boots, the women pattens, which raised their feet two or three inches. So slow and apathetic were our forefathers in originating or adopting social improvements, that the lively description of the streets of London in 1720, given by Gay in his clever poem "Trivia," exactly agrees

with that of the streets of Liverpool in 1812, as given by Sir James Picton. He says:—"In looking back on the Liverpool of this period, say from 1812 to 1820, it seems like exploring a foreign city, so utterly different from the present were all the circumstances, physical, social and moral. Imagine a town of 100,000 inhabitants without gas, without railways, without steamboats, without police, without omnibuses. . . . There were scavengers to clean the streets. The way in which they worked was to sweep the mud into long parallelograms here and there, about a foot deep, which were left for days, until carts could be got to fetch it away. The heaps were called corporation beds, from the notion that they were sometimes used as places of repose by the guests returning from the corporation feasts." The streets were indeed for half the year unfit for ladies to walk in, and they usually hired sedan-chairs for visiting; these too are well remembered by some of us.

Umbrellas, clumsily made of oiled canvas, with whale-bone ribs, were used by ladies only, down to the end of the last century. It was considered a mark of effeminacy for a man to use one. Thus Gay sings:—

Good housewives all the winter's rage despise,
Defended by the riding hoods' disguise;
Or, underneath the umbrellas' oily shed,
Safe through the wet, on clinking pattens tread.

Another striking proof of the Chinese-like doggedness with which our forefathers clung to their old ways is afforded by the story of gas lighting. It was invented by Murdoch, so far back as 1792. The famous James Watt had his foundry and offices at Soho, Birmingham, lit up with it in 1797. Yet, the first company for lighting London with gas was not formed until 1810, and so late as 1821, the greater

part of Liverpool was still dimly lighted by wretched oil lamps.

There were no public cemeteries outside the towns; all interments took place in the churches and churchyards, which had become so crowded with the dead, even in Hogarth's time, that decaying bones were the chief materials shovelled out in making a new grave. Yet it was not until 1853 that an Act of Parliament was passed to put an end to such a horrible state of things.

Public Health Acts were indeed unknown to our forefathers, and their sanitary customs and arrangements were too primitive to be dwelt on. Down to the close of the last century, the smallpox swept over the land now and then like a plague, and when it got fairly into a village, the people sometimes fled away, leaving the dying and the dead alike untended. Jenner's magnificent discovery of vaccination, as a perfect preservative, made its way but slowly; nor was it made compulsory until 1853. So that some of us can remember how common it was formerly to meet people in the streets frightfully pitted, scarred, and even totally blind from the smallpox.

From the streets we turn to the houses. Their architecture was very uniform and ugly. No originality was exhibited from the time of Queen Anne to that of the last of the Georges, 1714 to 1830. Nor was there inside the houses any redeeming feature. The furniture was dull, heavy, and tasteless, as may be abundantly seen in Hogarth's prints, as well as in the later ones of Gillray and Rowlandson. With Louis XV of France, came in the age of rococo, of shell-shaped curves set against each other back to back, and unmeaning flourishes. This debased style, introduced later on into England, is called the Georgian, and is scarcely yet extinct. The discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum, towards the close of the last century, did something to





Rowlandson.

TEA ON SHORE.

1789.

introduce a simpler style of decoration and purer forms. Marquetric, inlaid wood work, was introduced to England by Chippendale and Sheraton, who carried this style to considerable perfection. Corner cupboards, chairs, and card tables of, or after, their work, are not uncommon.

And now we come to the important subject of dress. To begin at the top, the three cornered or cocked hat of Hogarth's time continued in vogue until it was replaced about 1800, by the felt hat, and this by the hard, unyielding beaver hat. But, in Hogarth's pictures, we see how little the hat was worn, so heavy and heating was the wig. On the history of the wig a volume might be written. Like so many other fashions in dress, it came from France. When the hair of Louis XIV turned grey, his courtiers, both male and female, began to powder their hair, aping royalty. But soon after he became bald also, and then the gentlemen wore wigs like their monarch. This hideous fashion soon spread to England ; indeed, all the art of dress culminated in the wig. The heads of the wearers were shaven or kept closely cropped, to fit it better, but indoors the wig was often discarded, and a nightcap worn. Long curled wigs were for many years the fashion, the commonest and heaviest being of horsehair, but the finest were made of women's long hair, and this became a valuable commodity. "Money for live hair" was in every barber's window. An Oxford lass came up to London and sold her luxuriant tresses for £60, to get her a husband. Such wigs, of course, were very expensive, costing from fifteen to forty guineas, and they thus became tempting prizes for thieves. The robbery was effected in this way. A tall man ran along with a butcher's tray on his shoulder, in which lay a small boy who picked off the wig ; and a confederate bothered the astonished owner until they got clear off. Or, as Gay puts it :—



J. B. W. D. W.

A MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES INTRODUCING A PARTNER.

Thomas Rowlandson.

Oct. 21, 1736.

Nor is thy Flaxen Wigg with safety worn,
High on the shoulder, in the Basket borne
Lurks the sly Boy, whose Hand to Rapine bred,
Plucks off the curling Honours of the Head.

Not to have the wig in perfect curl was unendurable. A clergyman, being remonstrated with by his bishop for living nine miles from his country living, excused himself by the plea that there was no barber nearer to curl his wig. A shabby wig looked deplorable. Dr. Johnson, being very short-sighted, used to singe off the front of his wigs with the candle in reading. So the butler at Mrs. Thrale's kept a smart new wig ready, with which he endowed the doctor, before ushering him into the dining room. The cheaper wigs were made of fine horsehair. There were many kinds. There was the full-bottomed wig, the black riding wig, the furbelow, the campaign, the bag wig, the periwig, the fair wig, the dark wig, the bob wig, and you had only to put on a new wig to pass for a perfect stranger. Then there was the style in which it was curled, the pomade with which it was copiously greased, and the powder with which it was plentifully dusted. The best hair powder was starch, finely ground and sifted; but fine flour, and even whiting were also used, and always highly scented. Few indeed had the courage to wear their own hair, and these had it curled, and greased, and powdered, to look like a periwig. The wig makers were a powerful fraternity in those days. Over the shop was usually hung a rude picture of Absalom, caught by his long hair in the branches of a tree, and David, wringing his hands over his son's fate, exclaims :—

Oh Absalom, my son! my son!
Had'st thou had a periwig on
Thou would'st not have been undone.

In 1775, the trade petitioned George III, complaining



Pembury and Giltrey.

THE LANDING OF SIR JOHN BULL AT BOULOGNE-SUR-MER.

May, 1792.



DR. BLOWBLADDER DISCOVERING THE PERPETUAL MOTION.

1782.

that men were beginning to wear their own hair; to which he replied that he, at least, would always set the example of wearing a wig. The professions had their characteristic wigs. Thus, the doctor wore a full-bottomed wig; he dressed in black (velvet, if possible), carried a large muff (to keep his hands warm for feeling the pulses of his patients), and a gold headed cane. This last item was a most important part of his accoutrement. The large knob at the top was made hollow, to hold aromatic herbs or vinegar; this he held to his nose when close to a sick person to prevent contagion, a reasonable precaution when the virtues of fresh air and cleanliness were not so well known as they are now. In those days, the judge on the bench had aromatic herbs sprinkled about him to ward off the dreadful effluvia of the gaol that escaped from the wretched prisoners, and the chaplain sniffed at his bouquet as he accompanied the criminal to be hanged. The gold headed cane is mentioned in the old ballad of "Betsy Baker." The love-sick swain tells us:—

The doctor came, he smelt his cane,
With long face like a Quaker;
Said he, "Young man, pray, where's your pain?"
Said I, "Sir, Betsy Baker."

To turn to the ladies, they also wore much false hair. From 1770 to 1790, it was the fashion to wear the hair a prodigious height, well greased and powdered, and when the hairdresser had accomplished his task, it was left untouched for weeks. When the structure was taken down, washes were used to kill the vermin. As all the grown members of good families, even servants, wore the hair powdered, most houses of any pretension had a small room set apart for the purpose, called the powdering room or closet. The person to be powdered went behind two cur-

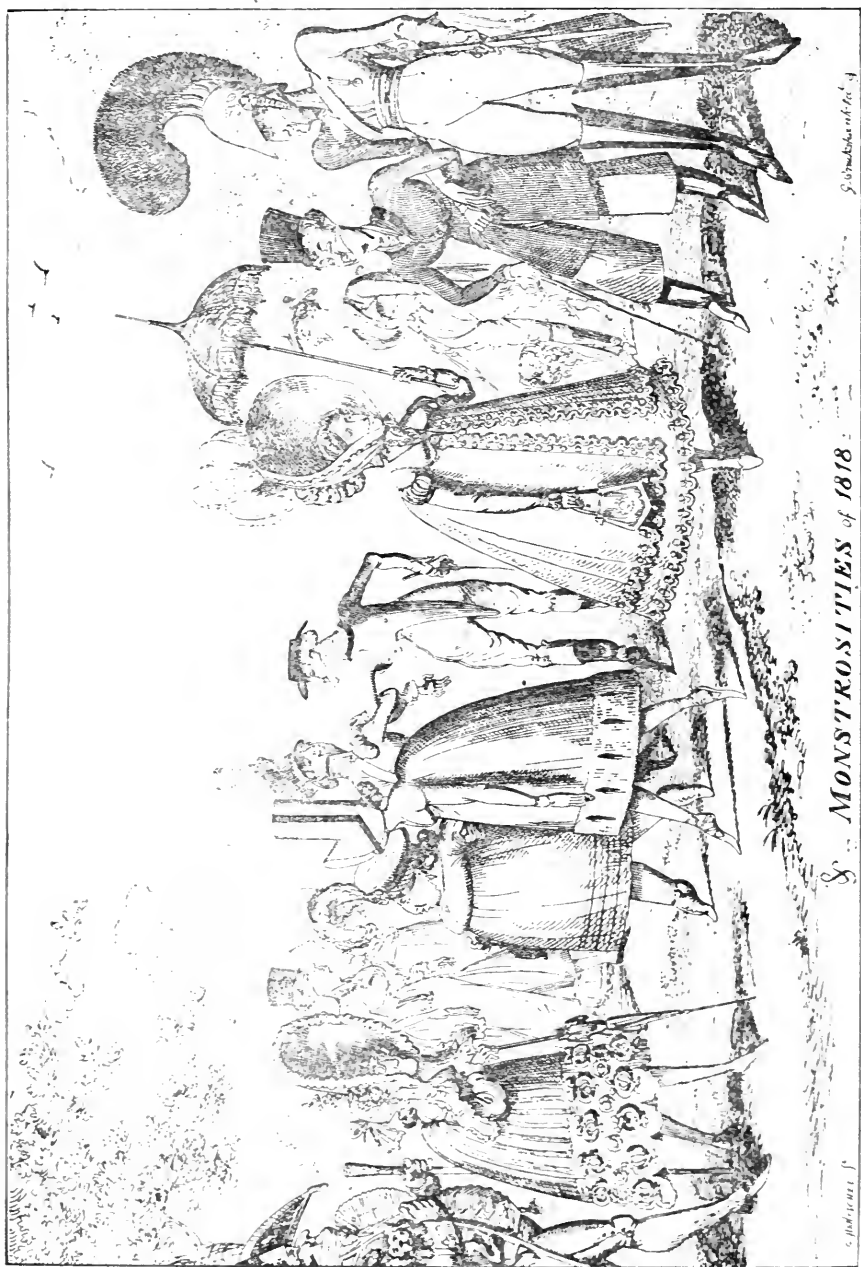
tains ; and by thrusting his head out between the two, the body was screened from the powder, whilst the head received its due quantity without injury to the clothes. During the terrible wars in which England was engaged, from 1775 to 1815, the Prime Minister was often at his wits' end to invent new taxes. In 1795, Pitt imposed a tax of a guinea a year on all persons using hairpowder. The first year it yielded £450,000, but within a few years thereafter the fashion had died out, only to survive among barristers, judges, and footmen. At the same time, a tax was laid upon all hats worn, a government stamp to be impressed upon the lining of every hat, and a penalty of £10 was imposed upon all wearing an untaxed hat.

But to return to the ladies—their piled up and puffed out hair required immense hats to cover it, as may be seen in many of the contemporary prints. When this fashion died out, it became the custom for ladies to have their hair decked with strings of pearls, and topped with a bunch of ostrich feathers, which so elevated them that it was usual to open the top of the sedan chair to let the lady's head out. This fashion survived until 1820, or even later.

In the time of Queen Anne, and for many years after, the ladies enhanced their charms, or fancied they did so, by powder and paint, as well as by sticking on little black patches. Thus Pope, in describing the lady's toilet table (*Rape of the Lock*), says :—

Here files of pins extend their shining rows,
Puffs, powders, patches, bibles, billet-doux.

And you could tell whether the fair one favoured the Whig or the Tory party by the way in which she arranged the patches on her face. A lady had it inserted in her marriage settlement that her husband should not interfere with the mode in which she wore her patches. This fashion was still



MONSTROSITIES of 1818

G. B. S. 1818

G. B. S. 1818

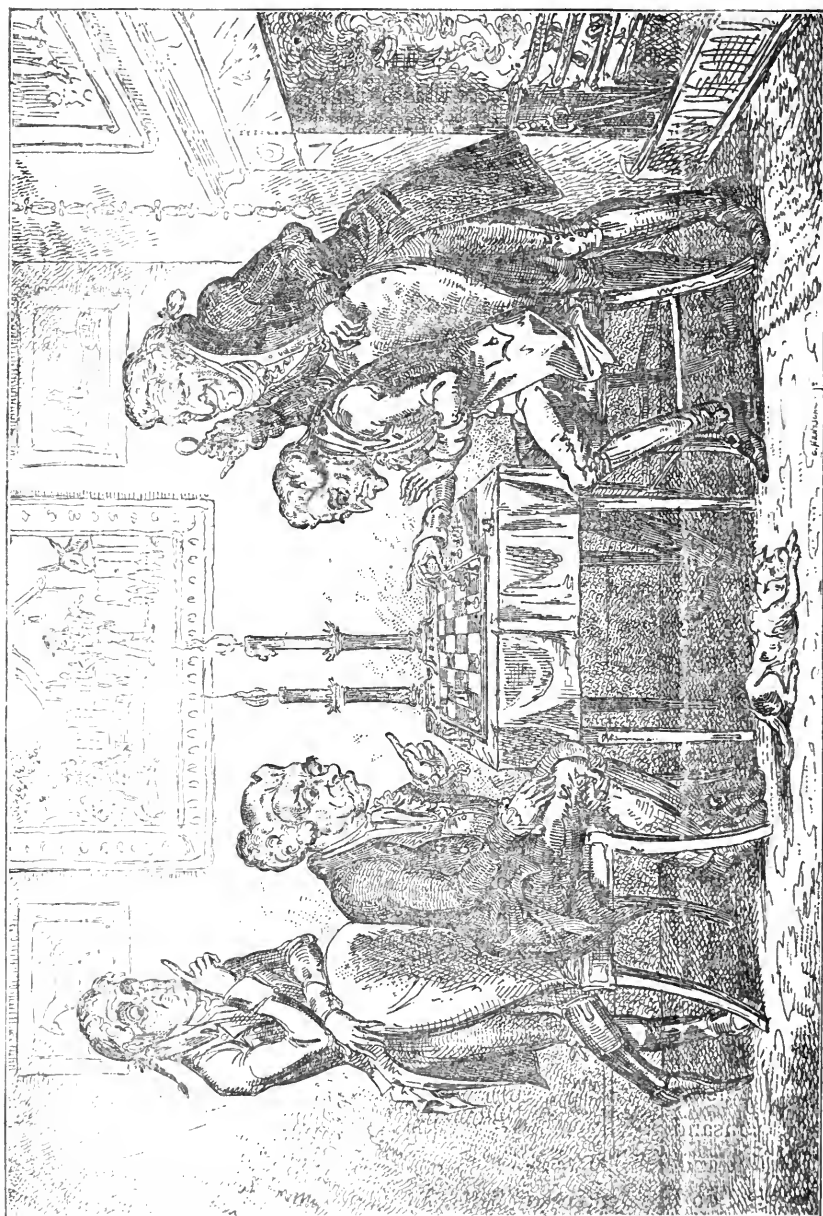


MONSTROSITIES OF 1822.

common until 1780. Long waists to the dresses disappeared a little before the French Revolution, and were replaced by scanty dresses with short waists that began just beneath the armpits, as is seen in the curious contemporary prints, where the lady complains :—

Shepherds, I have lost my waist,
Have you seen my body?
Sacrificed to modern taste,
I'm quite a hoddy-doddy.

From the dress, let us glance at the domestic economy of our forefathers. In comparison with ours, there was little variety in their provisions, but these were fairly abundant and cheap until the wars began, when prices went up by leaps and bounds. How the people lived through those times passes our comprehension. The same list of household provisions which had cost £8 4s. in 1773, cost, in 1793, £16 2s. and, in 1800, the sum of £45 14s.! The Income Tax was unknown until 1799, when £10 out of every hundred was demanded as a war tax, and continued to be levied until 1816. The Corn Laws, which prevented the importation of foreign corn, greatly aggravated the effect of bad harvests, so that wide-spread famines and bread-riots were frequent. Thus, in 1800–1, wheat was 113s. to 133s. a quarter; and that, too, when the people were far less able to pay it than they are now, when wheat is only 35s. a quarter! Coals, also, were scarce and dear; 40s. to 50s. per chaldron was the price for many years in London, and people who lived at a distance from the coal-fields had to make shift with wood. As for fire-lighting, matters remained down to 1830 or 1835 just as they were two thousand years before; that is, the ancient tinder-box, the flint and steel, was the only means of getting a light. How well do I remember the laborious details of firemaking when



I was a child. Every week rags were burned afresh to supply the tinder box, which stood handy by the kitchen fire, not the least important article of furniture. Curiously did I watch the servant, on a cold, dark, winter's morning, striving to set the tinder alight. Perhaps it had become damp, not having been freshly prepared, for it readily attracted moisture. Then it was in vain that she sent spark after spark from the steel upon it—not one would catch. If so, there was nothing for it but to sally out and bring back the initiatory fire from some neighbour's hearth. Or the passing watchman supplied it from his horn lantern. Usually, however, the tinder easily caught. Then she brought forth a huge bunch of great clumsy matches, tipped with sulphur. One of these, applied to the spark in the tinder, stimulated by a puff, took flame. A candle being forthwith lighted, the difficulty had ceased. But the process was so troublesome and uncertain that it was usually avoided in places where coal was cheap by keeping up the kitchen fire night and day. Nowadays we live in the midst of flame; and even the road to the Egyptian pyramids is strewn with lucifers and bitter beer bottles. We have advanced more in the last fifty years in the art of firemaking, than our forefathers had in thousands of years.

How were the houses of our forefathers lighted when there was no gas? Well, for nearly the whole century we are passing in review, candles furnished the only artificial light. What elderly party does not remember the nasty, stinking, swealing, guttering things, continually wanting snuffing; and does not bless his stars that he has lived to see the days of gas and paraffin oil and electric lighting?

As to the furniture of English homes during the long Georgian period, I have already mentioned its heavy, tasteless character. The English pottery, also, was clumsy, and poor in design, until Wedgwood appeared. Before his time



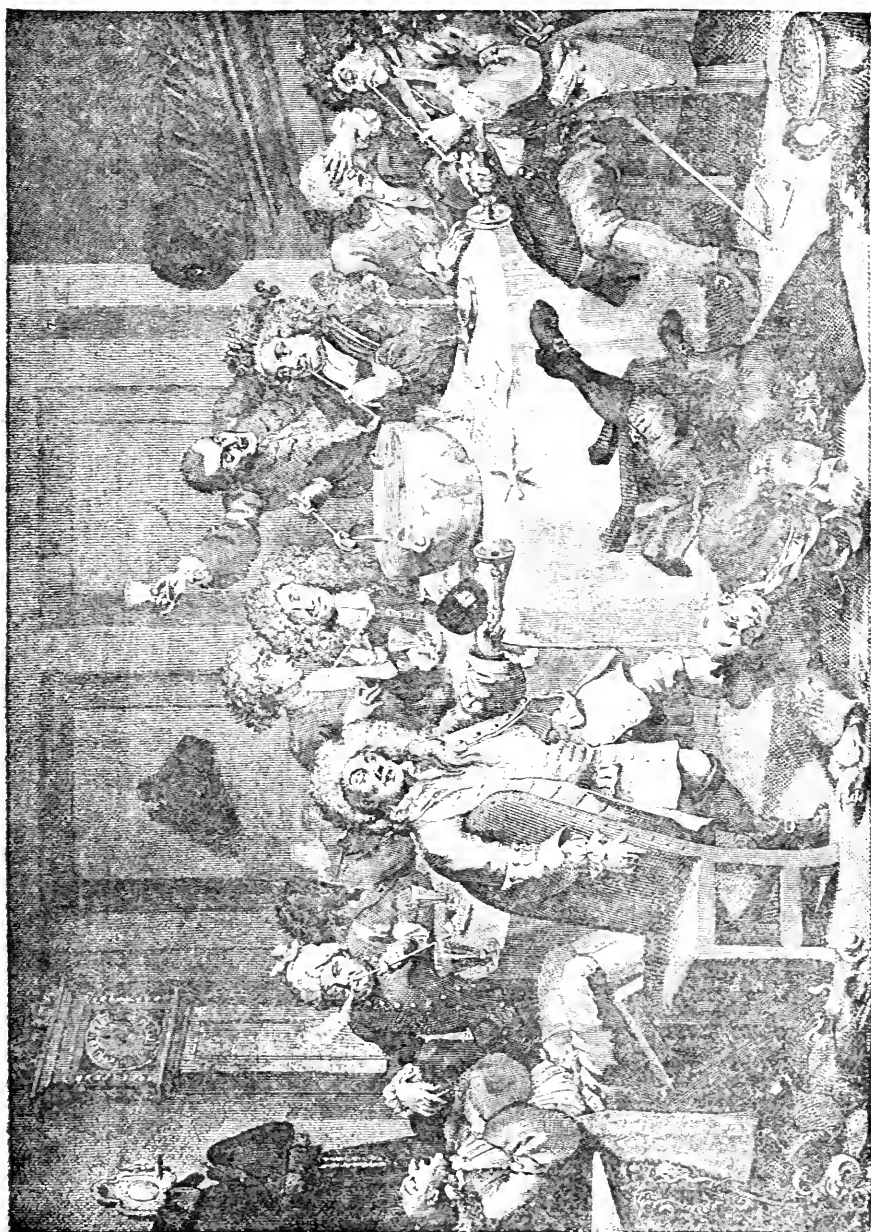
Rowlandson.

STUDIOUS GLUTTONS.

1792.



anything good had been imported from France or Holland. At table, people ate entirely with the knife, which was curved back at the end, and thick, so as not to cut their mouths. The fork, which was two-pronged, was only used for carving; and it was not until 1820-30 that the four-pronged fork was introduced; whence D'Israeli, Bulwer, and their followers who represented the new culture, were called the "Silver Fork School." The cookery was very plain: roast and boiled, no *entrées*, and little variety. But as a set-off, the quantity of animal food consumed was enormous, and what was more, it was all of home production. No frozen salmon or meat; no tinned provisions in those days. Fish was scarce and dear, especially during the long wars, 1775 to 1815, when the fishermen were seized for sailors; and there were no railways to bring this very perishable commodity quickly to market, nor ice to preserve it on the way. Game and poultry were scarce and dear, for there were no foreign supplies to keep down the prices. Venison was considered *the* dish for an epicure. It was indeed an age of coarse eating and drinking by those who could get it, and of little charity. Thus, in 1801, when the people were overwhelmed with taxes, when the quartern loaf cost 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d., and meat was 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. the pound, we read in the *Morning Post* of a "little dinner." "At a village in Cheshire three clergymen, after dinner, ate ten quarts of nuts; during their sitting they drank six bottles of port wine, and no other liquor." Again:—"Alderman Combe gave his annual dinner at the Brewery, Long Acre. The party included the Prince of Wales, the Lord Chancellor, with six other lords, and Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The dinner consisted of beefsteaks and porter, and was served upon wooden trenchers. A capital dessert was afterwards provided, with port, madeira, and claret." The Royal Princes, sons of George III, were all hard drinkers, as the



A MODERN MIDNIGHT CONVERSATION.

Hogarth.

following incident will show. The old Duke of Norfolk had spoken sharply of some of the Prince of Wales's doings, which, coming to the Prince's ears, he determined to have his revenge. The Duke was invited to a Royal dinner party, which he could not decline. His health with other toasts was repeatedly drunk in full bumpers, by the Prince and his Royal brothers. The old man perceiving that their object was to make him drunk, ordered his carriage, but the Prince delayed it, pledged him in brandy, and at last saw his censor carried to bed dead drunk, and disgraced. And if Royalty set so evil an example, what could be expected of the people at large? Even the British sage of the period, Dr. Johnson, having been persuaded at Sir Joshua Reynolds' to drink a glass of claret, shook his head and said, "Poor stuff! No, sir; claret is the liquor for boys; port for men; but he who aspires to be a hero must drink brandy." Baring Gould relates the case of an old Fellow of his college, and Professor at Cambridge, to whom a young student ventured to open some doubts and difficulties in religion that tortured him. "Difficulties! doubts!" echoed the old gentleman; "take a couple of glasses of port. If that don't dispel them, take two more, and continue the dose till you have found ease of mind."

And the social pictures of the whole period we are studying tell the same tale. Hogarth's "Modern Midnight Conversation," 1740; Rowlandson's "Hunt Dinner," 1800; and Cruikshank's illustrations to Pierce Egan's *Adventures of Tom and Jerry*, 1821, all represent scenes of drunkenness among the higher classes as the common routine of their day. If we take up a songbook of the last century, a large part of its contents is sure to be drinking songs, such as this:—

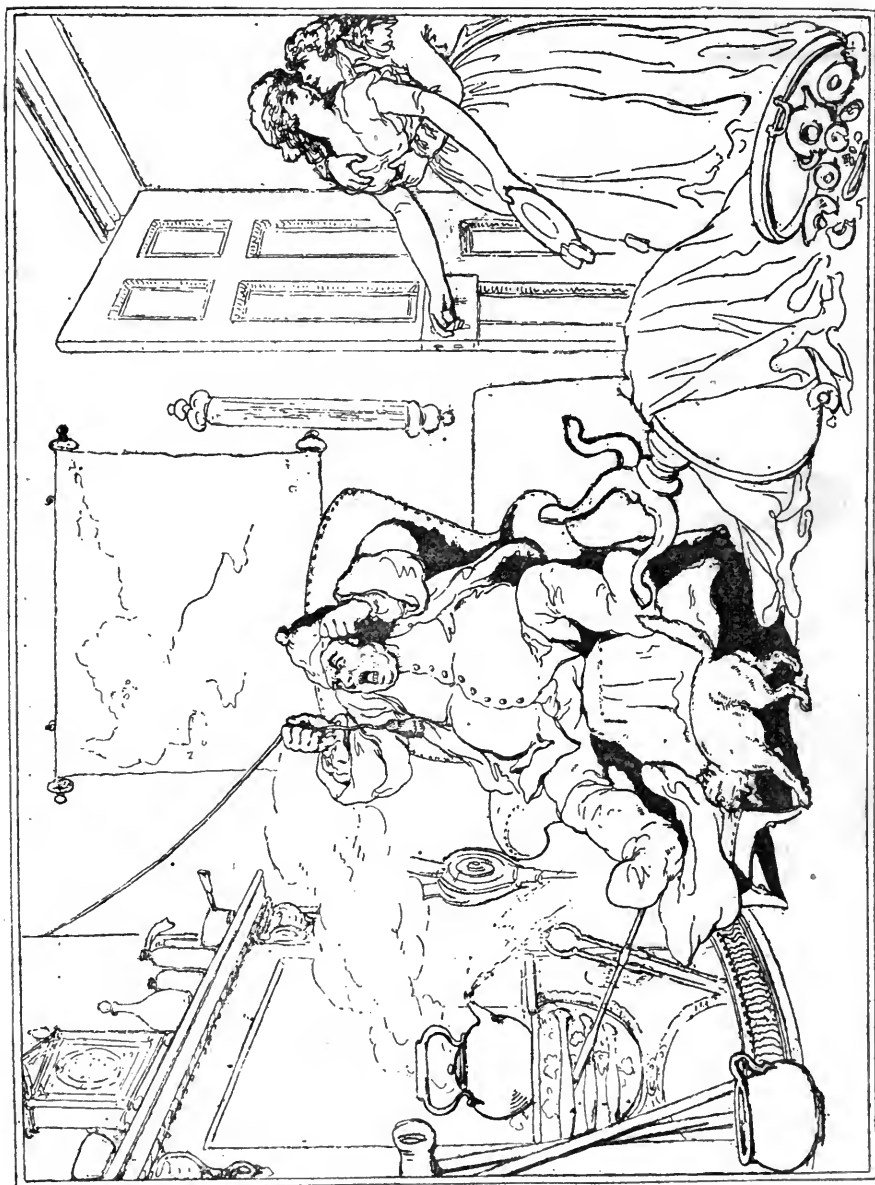
Hail! good comrades, everyone,
Round the polished table;
Pass the bottle with the sun,
Drink, sirs! whilst you're able.



Isaac Cruikshank.

TRUE BLUE! THE JOLLY TARS OF ENGLAND; OR, ALL ALIVE AT PORTSMOUTH.

1799.



Life is but a little span,
Full of painful thinking;
Let us live as fits a man,
No good liquors blinking.

Gout was fearfully prevalent during all those years, and no wonder; but, thank God, we have lived to see a better day, when drunkenness is regarded as degrading by every rank in society! The Teetotal movement, started in 1834, has surely done much to bring about this happy reform.

Turn we for a moment to consider the amusements of our forefathers. The turf, and races in every form, were very popular; even ladies rode matches and bet heavily. Cock-fighting and bull-baiting—hardly a country town of note but had its cockpits and bull-ring. Boxing also; prize fights were very frequent and popular with all classes. The Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, was an enthusiastic patron of the prize-ring. Then at fairs and holidays there was dancing, cudgel-playing, climbing up a greasy pole, grinning through a horse collar, lasses running for smocks, etc. Gambling in every form, especially card-playing, was universal, from the highest to the lowest. Titled ladies kept gaming-tables, and vast sums were thus lost in a night. The Prince of Wales, and his brother the Duke of York, Commander of the Forces, were desperate gamblers, and their gambling and other debts were more than once paid by an obsequious parliament. But, indeed, the government itself legalised gambling in the shape of State Lotteries, which yielded a revenue of about £400,000; nor were they abolished until 1825.

For visitors to London, there were the theatres, Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens, the lions in the Tower, and the lunatics in Bethlem and St. Luke's Hospitals, who, in Hogarth's time, and even so recently as 1800, were among the chief sights of London, a scandal to those institutions,



George Cruikshank (after Capt. Marryat).

A PARTY OF PLEASURE—DEDICATED TO THE FUNNY CLUB.

June 25, 1822.

and a great injury to the insane patients. The Post Office—no letter boxes, no postage stamps, no Postal Savings' Bank, no parcel post! Very few letters were posted, for the charge was enormous. A letter here to or from London cost 10d. for postage in 1810. Letters had to be paid for in cash at the post-office or to the postman, so that people often left the postage unpaid. The royal family and members of both houses of parliament were free from postal charges. Their signature outside was enough, and this privilege of "franking" letters gave rise to the most scandalous abuses, and loss to the postal revenue.

Turning to trade and commerce, be it noted that the apprenticeship system prevailed in full rigour; lads were bound for seven long years, were often beaten and starved by bad masters, and had no redress. As Sir James Picton truly says, "it was only another name for slavery." We must not forget that slavery itself was lawful in England until 1801, that Liverpool was the great slave port, and Liverpool merchants were waited on by slaves. "A black slave who had absconded," was advertised for in 1795; reward for his apprehension £20. But it may be doubted whether their lot was not better than that of the unfortunate chimney sweeps, whose slavery remained quite unmitigated down to 1842. These wretched beings were parish apprentices or kidnapped children, and were cruelly beaten to make them go up the chimneys or flues, climbing with back and knees, in a foul atmosphere, their lungs half-choked with soot. Little sympathy was shown them in those days, though their sufferings were known to and seen by all.

It seems a long jump from slavery to marriage, but among the working classes, in "the good old times," the wife was often treated as a slave. Many years ago, I remember seeing the typical Englishman represented on the French stage in top-boots, with big stick, and bulldog by



BREAKING-UP DAY AT SCHOOL.

Geo. Cruikshank.

his side. He thundered with his bludgeon on the stage, and then muttered:—"Godam! I vill sell my vife at Smit-field." This was no mere fancy; many such sales are recorded in the old newspapers, the woman being led to the market or fair with a halter round her neck, and sold to the highest bidder.

The newspapers, with which our forefathers were furnished, were small, published at long intervals, and well reflected the sluggish, unprogressive spirit of those days. They were very dear too; like pamphlets and almanacks, they were heavily taxed, and only allowed to be issued with the government stamp of the tax on the title. Their contents chiefly consisted of snips from the London journals. Just think, sixpence for a paper, and not allowed to lend it! No daily or evening papers, no halfpenny *Echo*, no telegraphic news. The news was old when you got it. Thus, the battle of the Nile, August 1st, 1799, was not known at the Admiralty until October 2nd, when a general illumination was ordered. So true it was of the village politicians, what Goldsmith wrote:—

And news, much older than their ale, went round.

The literature of a century is too large a subject to enter on, but I must invite your attention to the collection of children's books now exhibited, ranging from 1750 to 1820. You will see what poor rubbish, badly printed, and worse illustrated, was thought good enough for the children of those days. When I contrast them with the really exquisite productions, both for matter, printing, and illustrations, which are now at the service of every child, I cannot help exclaiming: Happy are the eyes which see the things that you see! Why had I no such opportunities and privileges; such dear delights?

Education was at a very low ebb, and what little was

*The LIBERTY of the SUBJECT.*

Gillray.

1779.

done was chiefly by private venture schools. When people had failed at everything else, they tried keeping a school. The Government probably thought they had enough to do making war and levying war taxes, and that the education of the people was no concern of theirs. The great public schools and the Universities were entirely in the hands of the Established Church. Indeed, no one could hold any public office, who did not belong to it. A man could not even become an exciseman or a parish constable until he had first taken the sacrament kneeling in the parish church. And so matters remained until 1828.

A word on the sailors and soldiers, who formed during the wars so large a part of the population. They are often represented as having been happy, careless souls, proud to die for their country. It was not so. There was usually the greatest aversion to the service; so the State, wanting food for tyranny, the lash, French prisons, and slaughter, grabbed men by means of the Press gang. Here is an extract from the *Times*, February, 1795:—"An embargo commenced last night on all the shipping in our ports, which, it is thought, will last eight weeks, or until *twenty thousand* seamen are procured.

"There was a very hot press in the river on Friday night, when several hundred able seamen were procured. One of the Press gangs, in attempting to board a Liverpool trader, were resisted by the crew; when a desperate affray took place, in which many of the former were thrown overboard, and the lieutenant who headed them was killed by a shot from the vessel." Even thus, men could not be got in sufficient numbers. The able-bodied criminals were shipped off for the navy or army. In 1795, as much as twenty-five guineas' bounty was given to any able-bodied seaman enlisting. Men mutilated themselves to escape the service. The *Times*, November, 1795, records:—"Samuel Caradise,



ENGLISH FOES IN PARIS.

G. Cruikshank.

who had been committed to the House of Correction, in Kendal, and there confined until put on board a King's ship, agreeable to the late Act, sent for his wife the evening of his intended departure. He was in a cell, and she spoke to him through the iron door. After which, he put his hand underneath, and she, with a mallet and sharp chisel, concealed for the purpose, struck off a finger and thumb, to render him unfit for His Majesty's service."

In recruiting more soldiers, there was as great a difficulty. Men were decoyed in the most villainous ways, and then thrust into irons until they could be sent to the regiment. Sometimes the people became so much enraged that they attacked the recruiting offices and set free those confined in them. Here is an extract. The *Times*, 1795:—"A number of convicts in Newgate, under sentence of transportation, have been permitted to enter into marching regiments. The crown debtors in the various prisons have received similar offers."

A word on the prisons, which in those days were little better than pest houses, from which the "jail-fever," as it was called, sometimes communicated itself to judge and jury. Imprisonment for debt was very common, and, to eke out their scanty prison fare, one of the debtors was told off daily to beg. Many can remember the plaintive cry at the Fleet prison, London—"Remember the poor debtors." The laws were frightfully severe, and the gallows had a busy time of it; men were hanged for what would now be considered trivial offences. Seven men were hanged at different times for robbing the hen-roosts of King George III, at Windsor. One gallows was kept permanently fixed at Tyburn, and the way to it was called Execution Road. A woman was hanged and burnt for passing a bad shilling in 1786. Many punishments, now unknown, were in constant use. There was the pillory, the parish stocks, the whipping





James Gillray

A Decent Story.

Nov. 4, 1793.

post, and the ducking-stool for scolding women, of which you will see curious pictures on the screens. Of police, as we know them, there were none until 1845, when they were introduced by Sir R. Peel, and were hence styled "bobbies" and "peelers." There were a few constables, who had to be fetched from their houses when wanted ; and also the night watchmen, "decrepit old dotards," as they were styled, who occasionally ventured out from their sentry boxes, armed with a rattle and a horn lantern, and called out the hour, then went to sleep again. So that the thieves and burglars had a high old time of it in those days, and honest folks found little protection.

We must speak of the morality of those times, but it is a painful subject to dwell on. The nation rallied slowly from that flood of bestiality and profligacy which came in with Charles II. It is very painful to find that even such noble characters as Nelson and Wellington often failed to rise above the very low moral standard of the corrupt times in which they were living. Bishops and deans scrambled for government pay and honours with as disgusting greediness as squires and lords. Take a specimen in 1807. A certain Mr. Hewitt, a layman, was rewarded with a place, and, dissatisfied at the official income, wished to better it somehow at the expense of the public. Sir Arthur Wellesley advises :—"I should recommend Mr. Hewitt to go into the church. All that he can look for from office will be about £1,000 a year, and the prospect of it not very near. But in the church, with his claims for provision and his powerful friends, he has a better chance of getting more !" Take another specimen of the morals of that time, which is referred to in some of the pictures before you. The Duke of York, one of George III's handsome but stupid sons, after having covered himself with disgrace abroad, was recalled, and made Commander-in-Chief at home ! Though married,



G. Crikshank.

PARADISE REGAINED.

(The Duke of York reinstated as Commander-in-Chief, 1811.)

9 Crickshank f.c. 65

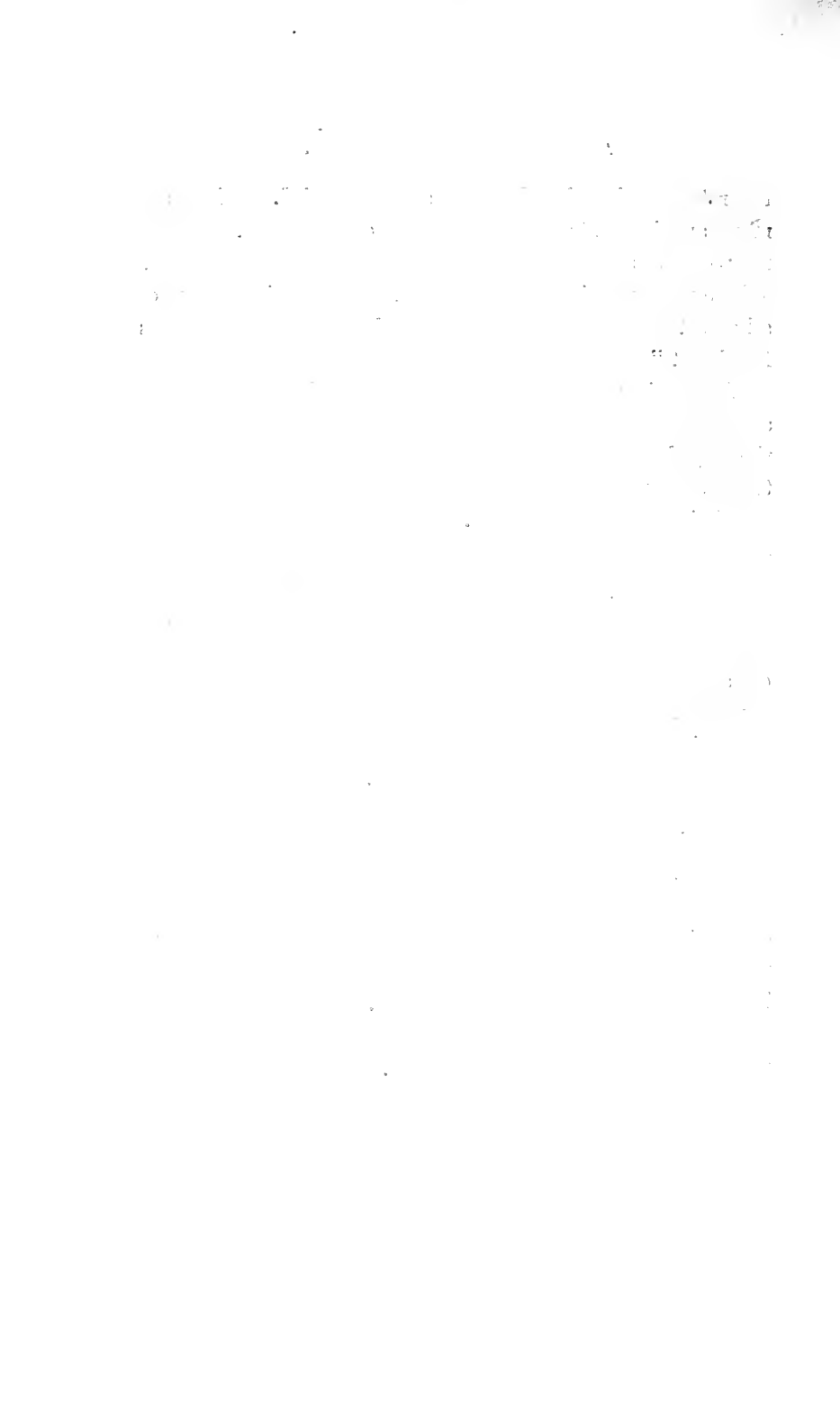
he had been in the habit of raising money for his mistresses by the sale of Army Commissions, Court Chaplaincies, and places in the Customs. This at last came to light, and was brought before parliament, where the infamies exposed obliged him to resign the post of Commander-in-Chief. Yet three years after, when the matter had somewhat blown over, he was quietly reinstated by his brother, the Prince Regent. This too, 1804-10, when all Europe was arrayed against us, and Bonaparte threatening to invade England !

We have seen enough, perhaps, to enable us to form an idea of the state of Religion. It was a dull, gross, sordid, unspiritual age, as is well seen in the truthful pictures of Hogarth. In one you have the parson presiding over the punch bowl at a drunken revel. At the Election Dinner he is gorging himself with venison and champagne. At the execution of the Idle Apprentice, the wretched criminal in the cart is ministered to in his last moments by a poor, earnest follower of Wesley, whilst the fat prison chaplain follows in his coach. In another of these pictures, a whole congregation is fast asleep, whilst the parson drones over a written sermon.

It would be easy to prove that these were no exaggerations, that the age was utterly apathetic as to Religion. Thus Dean Swift, in his curious tract, "An argument against abolishing Christianity," says :—"Another advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity is the clear gain of one day in seven ; but how this can prove a hindrance to business or pleasure is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleasure are forced *one* day in the week to gamble at home instead of the chocolate houses, are not the taverns open ? Can there be a more convenient season for taking a dose of physic ? Is not that the chief day for traders to sum up the accounts for the week, and for lawyers to prepare their briefs ? But I would fain know how it can

be pretended that the churches are misapplied. Where are more appointments and rendezvous of gallantry? Where more care to appear foremost in all the advantage of dress? Where more meetings for business? and bargains driven of all sorts? and where so many conveniences and incitements for sleep?"

Into this valley of dry bones came the two apostles and prophets of that age, Whitfield and Wesley, and bid the dry bones live. They called the people in trumpet tones to a new reformation; held up before them a loftier moral ideal—a living God. The clergy of those days denounced them as mad fanatics; they hired men to stone them, throw mud at them, hoot them down; but still these brave men persevered. And when towards the close of the last century, Wesley was gathered to his fathers in a good old age, the people called Methodists were a living power in the land, diffused everywhere. We cannot now trace the successive religious movements since that time, such as the Evangelical and the Oxford movement. All have done good work. Never was Religion so universally diffused in England as it is at this day. Never were the various religious bodies so active, so alive to their responsibilities. Let us bless God and take courage. We have lived into a brighter day than ever our forefathers saw. Men are apt to picture to themselves a golden age in the past, which had no existence. The true golden age is ever before us. Let us each one do something to hasten its advent by endeavouring to leave the world a little better than we found it.



THE BASIS AND CLAIMS OF MAGIC.

By ROBERT F. GREEN.

A BELIEF preceeding the earliest myths and legends, and the foundation of all folk lore; a doctrine which has found expression in the statue of Memnon, in the temples of Nineveh and Ephesus, and which has set its seal upon the sacred literature of every religion; a study, attracting great minds throughout all time and in every country, and giving birth to a whole circle of sciences; and a faith which now obtains unquestioned throughout the greater part of the world, and in the west, even to-day, despite the resistless advance of physical science, dies hard. These are some of the claims of magic upon the attention of a philosophical society in the nineteenth century.

It may be worth while, before attempting an explanation of the philosophy comprehended under the general term magic, to glance for a moment at the position in which we stand as accepters of physical science. Are we prepared to accept its methods as applicable to all our experiences, and are its hypotheses so complete and all embracing as to render futile the consideration of any others? It is almost a truism to say that the final position of science is an agnostic one. We know nothing absolutely. We realize certain effects upon our consciousness, and for convenience sake put them down to outside causes; but any outside cause is a pure assumption and entirely unrealizable in thought. Spinoza's conclusion*:—"nothing exists but thought and

* Spinoza, 176.

its modifications; Feeling, or something commensurate with Feeling, is the only unit and measure of reality;" expresses the position clearly, and Kant* and Spencer† are no less emphatic. Further, a scientific philosophy tells us that, reduced to its ultimate effort, the conception of what we call matter eludes us; that it is lost or merged in what we call force; that, "the ultimate distinction between mind and matter is illusory.‡" Spencer§ summarises a long and patient enquiry in affirming that "Matter and Motion, as we know them, are differently conditioned manifestations of Force."

Whether the two ideas are one really; whether matter really is force, or whether both are phenomena of some existence behind them, are possibilities on which, so far as science is concerned, it is vain to speculate. Nevertheless, despite these scientific dicta, the conviction that there is a reality behind appearances, that there is an outside cause of the effects we realize, is one that no philosophy can argue out of us. Whatever science may tell us, the certainty remains||; its logical expression may be and is impossible, but it exists in our minds for all that; and it is just this certainty that renders possible—indeed makes welcome—a philosophy other than scientific, which affirms the existence of a power beyond merely physical experience.

No attempt need be made to minimise the difference between these two philosophies: the physical and the transcendental. They contrast sharply. But whether acceptance of one involves rejection of the other, or whether the latter may be taken up where the former ends, is another matter. The disciples of a positive philosophy maintain that, incomplete as it is, none other is possible. Kant

* Kant, vol. 2, p. 218, and Lewes, vol. 2, p. 469, et seq.

† Spencer, § 22. ‡ Spinoza, chap. 6, p. 191. § Spencer, § 50.

|| Spencer, § 26.

proves "that the mind, from the very nature of its construction, cannot know things *per se*. The question then arises, have we any other faculty capable of knowing things *per se*? The answer is decisive. We have no such faculty."* But on the other hand, those who are identified with a transcendental philosophy assert that the two positions are not really antagonistic, that both are tenable. We have heard it maintained, time after time, in this society that scientific materialism is compatible with dogmatic theology,† and the pulpits of the broader sects in our own Church are constantly employed in attempting the same reconciliation. It takes two however to agree, and it is to be feared that scientific men do not go to church regularly, even yet.

As may be supposed, there is not much doubt as to which side magic takes on this question. She is "on the side of the angels." Magical philosophy asserts:—

That there is an objective existence underlying phenomena.

That there are existences of which our ordinary faculties cannot make us conscious.

That it is possible to obtain actual and positive knowledge of such existences.

Magic itself is the method by which this knowledge is obtained.‡

Now this is a wide explanation. It may, as it is probably intended to, include the dogmas and method of theology; but it is at least comprehensible. The issue is presented to us free from verbal obscurity and it offers a distinct challenge to physical science: on one side, the assertion that knowledge can come to man only by his tactual senses;

* Lewes, vol. 2, p. 469.

† *Proceedings of Lit. and Phil. Society of Liverpool*, vol. 32, p. 1.

‡ Waite, p. 1.

and on the other, that man may gain knowledge by direct effort of will * without the intervention of tactual sense at all.

It is not easy to present the doctrines of magic clearly in scientific language, since we are dealing with beliefs and experiences of which science professes its inability to take account. Nevertheless the attempt must be made if we are to try to estimate the value of these doctrines or their claims to acceptance. The magus affirms :—first, the existence of a directly controlling force or, as he would say, intelligence, anterior to all existence, of which force the universe is an expression. To this affirmation we may, without irreverence, apply the word God, although this, to the magus, is the ineffable name, never pronounced. This intelligence, of which neither the beginning nor end can be conceived, is persistent ; it not only creates, but directly controls ; matter and mind are alike the results of its working. It is embodied in man alone of all earthly living beings as a direct emanation—as the soul : this being conceived as distinct from mind, volition, which man has in common with other animals. In addition to mind and matter, the magus affirms the existence of a third condition underlying both, which he calls the *Astral light*, identifying it with the *Fiat Lux!* of Genesis. This is the *Telesma* of Hermes.† From this astral light, matter, as we know it, has developed ; it is diffused throughout the universe and is the medium by which such forces as gravitation are transmitted. It reveals itself *par quatre sortes de phénomènes, et a été soumis au tâtonnement des sciences profanes sous quatre noms : calorique, lumière, électricité, magnétisme.*‡ Its polarisation about a centre has produced worlds and, on the earth, all living beings. It is conceived as being modified in some way by development so that the astral light pervading the earth is differentiated. Eliphas Lévi, the celebrated French

* *Myst. Magic*, p. 4. † *Myst. Magic*, p. 76. ‡ *Dogme*, p. 152.

magician, to whose works we shall have to make frequent reference, says: "It identifies itself with the individual life of the existence which it animates. Thus it is terrestrial in its connection with the earth, and exclusively human in its connection with man. It forms the 'personal atmosphere' of Swedenborg, constantly being absorbed and emanated by human beings, and really constituting their mind or consciousness." This astral light can be seen in certain cases by clairvoyants; at death it gradually leaves the body, retaining, however, its form. It is the medium by which the soul escapes, and if the soul is pure the terrestrial ether cannot enclose it; it returns again to the great intelligence from which it came. If, however, the soul has been contaminated by its human prison—if the life of the being in whom it dwelt has been vicious, then the terrestrial ether enchains it: it cannot overcome the terrestrial attraction, and it must remain on earth. Besides human beings, there exists a hierarchy of spirits, good and bad, having control of definite parts of the universe. With these, as with the spirits of the dead, it is possible to communicate. Communication with the supreme intelligence is also conceived as possible; but since it involves mental and moral perfection, it may be considered an ideal rather than an attainable condition.*

Now it will be seen that while science is silent on most of these points, they are upheld to the fullest extent by many systems of theology. The conception of an eternal creative force outside the universe is one altogether beyond the scope of physical science, which has for its starting point the existence and persistence of matter and force. It suffices that these affect our consciousness as distinct phenomena although the conclusion is forced upon us that there is no essential distinction between them. Of the cause of these phenomena, and of any cause not involving the conception of

* Waite, p. 15.

an antecedent cause, science takes no cognizance. She goes further, in fact, and maintains that an ultimate cause is inconceivable. Here then is a basis for both theology and magic, as it were deeper than, and anterior to, that of science; the transcendental philosophy postulating an eternal, intelligent will of which matter and force are the outcome, and evolution asserting the persistence of these phenomena, and refusing to speculate as to their origin. The conception of an astral light or ether is not, so far as I have read, a part of any theological system, certainly not of Christianity; but it is necessary to scientific hypotheses as the medium by which such forces as light and gravitation act upon the earth. Magic regards these forces as manifestations of the astral light itself. The scientific suggestion, however, is not satisfactory, for one very important reason: the ether is conceived of as highly attenuated matter pervading the universe;* that it held to be matter is obvious, since it is asserted that we cannot become conscious of any but material phenomena; but since it must be conceived of as pervading and permeating such solid bodies as rock, it is necessary to stipulate for it new and entirely hypothetical conditions. These science does not pretend to describe, so that here again her method is insufficient. The hypothesis is necessary, and yet it cannot even be stated in scientific terms.

The belief in a soul as a direct emanation from the supreme intelligence, and the assertion that it has been vouchsafed to man only of all living organisms, is common to all theological systems. They are all, moreover, at one in affirming a distinction between the soul and mind, although many systems, notably our own, do not make this clear. Science finds the hypothesis of a soul unnecessary, and the question of its immortality one entirely beyond the possibility of consideration. In contradistinction to this,

* Laing, *Zor.*, pp. 22, 34.

the claims of magic are clear and unmistakeable, and its students to-day are willing to let their faith rest on the result of proper enquiry in this direction. Mr. Waite, certainly the ablest of modern writers on magic in this country, says, "a central fundamental and vital fact is this, that practical magic in its investigations of extra-mundane worlds has come into communication with those whom the living call dead, and that the ritual of such communication has been bequeathed by magicians to posterity."*

A belief in the immortality of man is not characteristic of all religions, although all exhibit a persistent tendency towards it. In Christianity there are many different conceptions of the doctrine, all starting with an affirmation of the cardinal fact, and of the connection maintained by departed spirits of the world they have left. In early Judaism the belief in immortality is at least doubtful, but it becomes more prominent after the captivity.† Islam shows us a doctrine similar and equally prominent to that of Christianity, but coarser and less spiritual.‡ In Brahmanism and Buddhism, the doctrine of immortality is replaced by those of transmigration and final absorption§ into the supreme intelligence. The soul is affirmed to be eternal but its individual existence ceases. This is an essential difference between Eastern and Western dogma.

The belief in angels, good and bad, and in a hierarchy of superhuman beings, is the foundation of many religions and an integral part of all. It constituted the whole of Greek and Roman paganism. Judaism and its later developments, Christianity and Islam, may be said to have adopted this portion of magic *en bloc* from the Zend philosophy,|| and this again shows signs of its Brahman parentage.

* Waite, p. 71. † *Prophets*. Lecture II., p. 63. ‡ Sale, vol. 1, p. 105.

§ *Buddhism*, p. 109, *et seq.*

|| Sale, vol. 1, p. 99. Davidson, vol. 1, p. 337.

Buddhism at first ignored any direct angelic interference in mundane affairs, but its later development in Central Asia makes ample amends for any early neglect of the doctrine. The angelology of all religious systems is in fact magic pure and simple. On this subject again science is silent, and the search for anything like scientific evidence is apparently a vain one.

And finally in this connection we come to the belief in a possible direct communication between God and man. This is a subject on which it is not easy to speak without challenging some imputation of irreverence, but a reference to it is necessary, nevertheless, if our enquiry is to have its admitted and proper scope. The claims of religion are here, and for the first time far in advance of magic. Setting aside Eastern systems, of which the pantheism is fatal to anything like personal relation, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam alike assert that man can under certain conditions have direct communication with his Creator, and that direct spiritual help will be vouchsafed to him. The magician says as much, but under what different conditions ! Religion maintains that a striving after right, a sincere wish to do God's will, and an earnest desire for his help, constitute an appeal that will never be denied. Magic stipulates for absolute freedom from sin and from all taint of worldliness, for a mind wholly attuned to the great mind of the universe, for an intelligence in perfect harmony with the great intelligence. No wonder these conditions are denied to most men, and that their attainment, and with it, direct communication with the supreme intellect, is an ideal possibility rather than a practical end in view. There is observable, however, in Christianity a modification in two directions of its original faith on this greatest of subjects, and in some sections a sense of unworthiness finds expression in prayers for the intervention of saints and angels, and a trust to vicarious

rather than personal merit. In other sections the tendency is to look upon prayer as introspective, reflective, and the resulting benefit as not being referable to any outside cause. This latter conception approaches that of Eastern systems, of which periods of contemplation form so important a part.

It will be seen that there are few, if any, of the fundamental postulates of magic which have not a claim to general acceptance to-day. They are beyond the scope of scientific enquiry it is true, but this cannot be said to invalidate them. They occupy, with religion, a department of human thought and appeal to human convictions after physical science has said its last word, and whether true or not, the fact remains that they have satisfied men in their search after truth since the days "when the Sphinx was young."

As may be expected, magic does not content itself with the enunciation of one or two fundamental dogmas. It has its own explanations of things as they are, and these explanations, lacking though they often do the precision and elaboration of scientific hypotheses, are not so wide of the scientific mark as we are apt to imagine. Looking upon all nature as the result of one intelligent will, magic sees throughout nature a perfect correspondence. "*Il n'y a qu'un dogme en magie, et le voici : le visible est la manifestation de l'invisible, ou, en d'autres termes, le verbe parfait est, dans les choses appréciables et visibles, en proportion exacte avec les choses inappréciables à nos sens et invisibles à nos yeux.*" *

The world is an epitome of the universe, man of humanity, biography of history. The physical laws which govern life here, have their analogues in the spiritual laws of immortality; as Kingsley says:—"the physical and spiritual worlds cannot be separated by an impassable gulf. They must in some way or other reflect each other, even in

* *Dogme*, p. 119.

their minutest phenomena, for so only can they both reflect that absolute primeval unity, in which they both live and move and have their being."* Magic asserts, moreover, a gradual development throughout nature from lower to higher forms, a constant striving towards perfection. Recognizing in will the motive power of the universe, it recognizes in human will the most complete embodiment of this universal force, and therefore the greatest force in nature.

Nothing can resist the will of man, when he knows what is true and wills what is good.

The will of the just man is the will of God Himself, and it is the law of nature.

These are two of the axioms of Magic.†

By the exercise of volition, man has attained to a partial conquest of nature, her perfect control awaits him, if only he will so order his will that it shall be in harmony with the supreme intelligence.

Toute individualité est indéfiniment perfectible, puisque le moral est analogique à l'ordre physique, et puisqu'on ne saurait concevoir un point qui ne puisse se dilater, s'agrandir et jeter des rayons dans un cercle philosophiquement infini. Ce qu'on peut dire de l'âme entière, on doit le dire de chaque faculté de l'âme. L'intelligence et la volonté de l'homme sont des instruments d'une portée et d'une force incalculables. Mais l'intelligence et la volonté ont pour auxiliaire et pour instrument une faculté trop peu connue et dont la toute-puissance appartient exclusivement au domaine de la magie: je veux parler de l'imagination, que les cabalistes appellent le diaphane ou le translucide.

L'imagination, en effet, est comme l'œil de l'âme, et c'est en elle que se dessinent et se conservent les formes, c'est par elle que nous voyons le reflets du monde invisible appliquée à la raison, c'est le génie. La raison est une,

* Kingsley, p. 305.

† *Myst. Magic*, p. 70, et seq.

*comme le génie est un dans la multiplicité des ses œuvres Il n'y a pas de monde invisible, il y a seulement plusieurs degrés de perfection dans les organes. L'âme peut percevoir par elle-même et sans l'entremise des organes corporels, au moyen de sa sensibilité et de son diaphane les choses, soit spirituelles, soit corporelles, qui existent dans l'univers. Spirituel et corporel sont des mots qui expriment seulement les degrés de ténuité ou de densité de la substance.**

The magician realises, of course, that what is true of man is true of society; that it, too, has boundless possibilities, and that in the main, despite many lapses, it too is advancing towards a higher ideal. Religion is looked upon as the pioneer of all true social development, since its function is to proclaim a higher ideal of life. All religions are divinely inspired, their seeming imperfections being due to man's inability to grasp the truths they teach. Hence the perfect religion has yet to come; it will herald the perfect man. "True religions have always existed in the world, and the most magical," says Eliphas Lévi,† "has always been dominant. It has at the present moment, among the nations of the earth, three apparently hostile forms, which will eventually unite for the constitution of a universal church. I refer to the Russian Orthodoxy, to Roman Catholicism, and to a final transformation of the religion of the Buddha."

The mere statement of the foregoing hypotheses of magic will have made it clear that no corroboration of them is to be expected from religion—from Western religions least of all. The intense conservatism characteristic of theological systems and the inveterate hankering of their representatives after political power, have over and over again in history proved stumbling blocks to social progress. And then the dogmas; not of our religion only, but of the Zend, of Judaism and Islam; regarding man's original perfection, his fall, and

* *Dogme*, p. 116.

† *Myst. Magic*, p. 32.

his consequent innate sinfulness : these are teachings which require no small force of logic to render compatible with any theory of development.

But if religion denies, or at any rate does not admit, these magical hypotheses, science, on the other hand, sees in them almost an anticipation of the results she has so laboriously arrived at. Her logic, if it stops before it reaches one universal force, points towards one inexorably. She sees in animate nature a process of development, of which man is the highest expression, and she puts no limit upon his future progress. "With knowledge, power," is a motto which may well be inscribed over the gates of her temples, since she is content to acquire knowledge and let the power follow as it will. She recognizes in the trained and well-ordered imagination a legitimate and trustworthy source of knowledge, and acknowledges in Will a power of which all our faculties are the weak children. Truly magic, if she be twin sister to religion, may claim a foster sister in science.

With regard to the method of magic, a superficial enquiry will suffice to make it obvious that it is here we must look for an explanation, not only of its extraordinary and irresistible attraction and of its persistent secrecy, but of the no less persistent cloud of chicanery and imposture that surrounds it. These are really its most prominent characteristics in popular estimation, and it certainly displays them throughout the whole course of its long history. At present it is only necessary to touch upon such magical methods as apply generally to all branches of occult science. Some of these latter deserve separate notice, since they involve methods of their own, and have formed, in many cases, the whole extent of the magician's study. Magic, Levi* defines as *La science traditionnelle des secrets de la nature, qui nous vient des mages*. Waite,† writing

* *Dogme*, p. 108. † Waite, p. 1.

in more exact and scientific terms, describes it as "a method of transcending the phenomenal world, and attaining to the reality which is behind phenomena." "The mode," he says, * "of transcending the phenomenal world, as taught by the mystics, consists, and to some extent exclusively, of a form of intellectual ascension or development which is equivalent to a conscious application of selective evolutionary laws by man himself to man. Those latent faculties which are identified as psychic force, pass, under this training, into objective life; they become the instruments of communication with the unseen world, and the modes of subsistence which are therein. In other words the conscious evolution of the individual has germinated a new sense, by which he is enabled to appreciate what is inappreciable by the grosser senses." Now how is this new sense to be evolved, or granting its existence, how is it to be developed? First, says the magus, by self-conquest. *L'homme qui est esclave de ses passions ou des préjugés de ce monde ne saurait être initié, il ne parviendra jamais, tant qu'il ne se réformera pas; il ne saurait donc être un adepte. . . . L'homme qui aime ses idées et qui a peur de les perdre, celui qui redoute les vérités nouvelles et qui n'est pas disposé à douter de tout plutôt que d'admettre quelque chose au hasard, celui-là doit refermer ce livre. . . . Si vous tenez à quelque chose au monde plus qu'à la raison, à la vérité et à la justice; si votre volonté est incertaine et chancelante, soit dans le bien, soit dans le mal; si la logique vous effraye, si la vérité nue vous fait rougir; si on vous blesse en touchant les erreurs reçues, condamnez tout d'abord ce livre.*† This self-conquest has been felt as a primal necessity by mystics in all ages, and its attainment has been the motive alike of Brahman austerities and Christian fasts and penance. Having learnt to control his body, the magus

* Waite, p. 1. † Dogme, p. 106.

must apply himself to the subjugation of his will. "By means of persevering and graduated athletic exercises, the energies and agility of the body are developed or created in an astonishing degree. It is the same with the soul's powers. If you would reign over yourselves and others, learn how to will! How can we learn to will? This is the first arcanum of magical initiation, and it was to make the very inmost depth of this secret understood that the ancient custodians of the sacerdotal art surrounded the approaches to the sanctuary with so many terrors and illusions. They believed in no will till it had stood its tests, and they were right. Power can only manifest itself by achievement. Idleness and forgetfulness are the enemies of will, and this is why all religions have multiplied observances and made their cultus difficult and full of minutiae."* Stringent injunctions regarding personal cleanliness, temperance in eating and drinking, physical exercises, regular occupation (preferably a handicraft), and a strict observance of the religion in which he has been brought up are further imposed upon the student; who above all things is to be silent as to the objects of this discipline. "The operations that are accomplished must be divulged to no one; mystery is the rigorous and indispensable condition of the whole science. The curious must be baffled by the simulation of other occupations and researches, such as chemical experiments for commercial purposes, hygienic prescriptions, the search after some natural secrets, &c., but the decried name of magic must never be pronounced."† After this as it were preliminary training, the student must in a great measure be his own guide. It is asserted, however, that he will receive supernatural assistance, and that knowledge will come to him as he shows himself worthy to receive it. Lévi affirms‡ that the aspirations of thought attract speech.

* *Myst. Magic*, p. 26, *et seq.* † *Myst. Magic*, p. 30. ‡ *Dogme*, p. 104.

"We have proved this a hundred times during the course of our initiation into magic, the rarest books have presented themselves to us without seeking as soon as they became indispensable to us." For ceremonial magic a part of the ritual is recorded in comprehensible form, but writers in all ages refer to much of it that they do not describe. Waite says,* that "it is the general opinion of modern occultists that the initiated mystic never disclosed anything except to his brother adepts, and that what has transpired in these matters has been through persons who failed in the process, but had advanced as far as a certain point."

The further endeavour now of the *Talmid* or student of magic is so to cultivate his mental faculties that he can appreciate existences invisible to physical sense. He does this, first by a process of introspection, a profound contemplation of which examples are given us by the holy men of all ages and religions. This introspection is aided by the scrupulous observance of most elaborate regulations and conditions, extending over a long period, and attaining, it is asserted, their object in a mental exaltation, first of the ordinary faculties and finally of the mind in a condition akin to ecstasy or, in some cases, trance. In this condition knowledge may be acquired altogether independently of the physical senses. The magus admits, of course, that a similar mental state may be induced by the aid of narcotics, but he affirms that experiences gained under the latter condition are untrustworthy if not vicious. Here, however, is the point where science, at which court we think it proper to try these claims, stops the proceedings and demands to know something more about this physical and mental exaltation; why it is to be separated by the sharp line of truth and deception from the mental exaltation produced by, for example, alcohol; why one state should be entirely

* Waite, p. 32.

trustworthy and the other entirely misleading. She distrusts profoundly the experiences resulting from any such condition as ecstasy or trance, and asks the magician why paramount importance, or for that matter, any importance at all should be attached to them. The magician's answer is a direct and simple one: because these exalted experiences are verifiable and true; because in this highly sensitive state, man can and does acquire a power immeasurably greater than any physical force, and a knowledge impossible by any other process; and finally, because the power thus gained can be displayed and the knowledge confirmed by normal experiences. Pressed to state the kind of power and knowledge obtained, the magician instances the numberless cases of miracles performed, destinies foretold, and prophecies fulfilled. Science finds herself compelled to reject all these, asserting that the evidence in their favour is not proper, or if proper, not sufficient. Magic then makes the further appeal to a general experience, points out that knowledge derived from this mental exaltation has always been accepted as true; that Indian fakir, Buddhist mendicant, Jewish prophet, Mahomedan dervish, Catholic saint, and Protestant revivalist, are all witnesses to its truth; and asserts that no belief which has survived so many ages, which has had such wide acceptance, can possibly be false. And to this, science is silent, or at any rate I cannot find her answer.

It must not be supposed from what has been said, that every student of magic pursued its methods to such an extreme point as ecstasy or trance. On the contrary, records show that in the western world comparatively few attained to this state. Most of them became identified with one or other of the occult sciences:—divination, alchemy, astrology, and though professing universal philanthropy, would seem in most cases to have made their own aggrandisement the first consideration. Some, still further degrading the cult,

employed it as a means of revenge, and to gratify the vilest passions. This, indeed, became a distinct branch of magic, and is known as goetic, or more familiarly, black magic. It was purely ceremonial, having for its aim a correspondence with the bad or fallen angels in the celestial hierarchy. Like many religious systems, magic affirms the existence of malevolent spirits, and it must be confessed that the explanation of their existence is about as adequate and satisfactory in one philosophy as in the other. The ceremonies of black magic have been held in proper detestation from time immemorial by all honest students, and their practice has been punishable by death in many countries. "The Levitical law on this point is construed by some modern commentators as applicable to all forms of magic, but the Rabbins, who certainly ought to know best, are of opinion that the punishment of death is not awarded to those who simply employed fascinations, and drew presages and omens from natural things, but only to those who did so to the prejudice of others."* The conditions of success in infernal evocation are, according to Lévi†:—1. *Un entêtement invincible.* 2. *Une conscience à la fois endurcie au crime et très accessible au remords et à la peur.* 3. *Une ignorance affectée ou naturelle.* 4. *Une foi aveugle en tout ce qui n'est pas croyable.* 5. *Une idée complètement fausse de Dieu.*

The ritual, stated at length in two books, the *Grimorum verum* and *Grand Grimoire*, still procurable, is certainly calculated to confirm, if not induce, insanity. It involves in most cases a pact with the demon, who, after performing his part of the contract, is to be cheated out of his reward by some play upon words in the agreement. Fortunately, the filthy rites of goetic magic are not possible now, at least in this part of the world. Its ritual is all borrowed from the

* Kitto, vol. I, p. 482. † Rituel, p. 225.

liturgy of the Roman church.* To make use of it successfully, one must be a sincere Roman Catholic, and a sincere Roman Catholic could not possibly profane his religion so horribly.

At what period in human history magic, from being identified with religion and science, became a distinct cult, is not clear. Originally they were indistinguishable. "The Magi were the priests of older religions. Zoroaster, Ostanes, the Brahmins, the Chaldean sages were the primitive possessors of magical secrets. The priestly and sacrificial functions, healing of the sick, and the preservation of secret wisdom were the objects of their life. Justice, truth, and the power of self-sacrifice were the great qualities with which they must be endowed."† Probably the consensus of thought at Alexandria at and just before the beginning of our era had much to do with a separation from religion. Magicians, with other views in common, would find themselves at issue on this point, and would be content, no doubt, to waive it in their intercourse. At any rate, in the second and third centuries, we find students of magic occupying a prominent position in literature and philosophy. They became divided later into two classes: physical and spiritual; the first pursuing studies in connection with inanimate nature, in the world of metals and minerals; and the second, holding identical opinions as to the nature of things, labouring to develop the secret possibilities resident in humanity. The first school, from which our modern sciences of chemistry and astronomy may be said to spring, is now to all intents and purposes extinct, its mission has been accomplished, its methods surpassed. The second, again branching out into two main divisions, still exists, identified with what remains of magical doctrine among us to-day. In mediæval times, many of the spiritual

* Waite, p. 57. † Ennemoser, vol. I, p. 2.

mystics, however, abandoned ceremonial magic. They trusted for the acquirement of superhuman knowledge to that system of introspection which has, in all ages, been found so efficacious. Others, however, still pursued secret rites, and their studies again merged into those of the physical mystics. Paracelsus is the most prominent figure at this time, his theories representing the fusion of ceremonial magic and physical mysticism.* His real name was Hohenheim, and he was born at Einsiedeln, a town still famous as one of the most frequented Continental shrines. At an early age he was sent to the University of Basel where he qualified as a physician. Not satisfied, however, with the then current medical practise, he left his college and travelled, chiefly for the purpose of studying mineralogy. On his return to Basel he was appointed town physician, and his great success in curing or mitigating diseases when other physicians had failed, quickly made him celebrated. His contempt, however, for such recognized medical authorities as Galen and Avicenna, and his denunciation of current medical practices, brought down upon him the enmity of his brother professors. He was compelled to leave Basel in 1528, and wandered in Germany until his death, thirteen years later. There is, of course, a wide difference of opinion as to the value of his work, and between his apotheosis by later mystics and the most violent execration of him by his opponents, the student of to-day is somewhat bewildered. He seems to have been the first to claim for alchemy, till then a mere empirical study, a place in transcendental philosophy, and even if his theories are unworthy of discussion to-day, they certainly do not show the uncultured mind, or one not in every way capable of appreciating a very wide range of facts. "We are not" says Professor Ferguson,† "one whit nearer the solution of the problems

* Waite, p. 193.

† *Ency. Brit.*, vol. XVIII, p. 236.

which puzzled Paracelsus than he was ; the mystery of the origin, continuance, and stoppage of life is, perhaps even darker than it may have seemed to him, so that it is no matter of surprise, or blame, or ridicule that he missed constructing a theory of the universe which at the same time would be a never-failing guide to him in the practical work of alleviating the evils which a residence in this universe seems to entail. It is not difficult, however, to criticise Paracelsus, and to represent him as so far below the level of his time as to be utterly contemptible. It is difficult, but perhaps not impossible, to raise him to a place among the greatest spirits of mankind."

Some seventy years after the death of Paracelsus, his theories and the pursuit of magic generally throughout Europe, received further impetus by the publication, anonymously, at Cassel, of a pamphlet bearing for its title *The fame of the Fraternity of the Meritorious Order of the Rosy Cross, addressed to the learned in general, and the governors of Europe*. This, to all appearance unpretending work claimed for the fraternity the possession of a true and perfect knowledge of the universe, an acquaintance with the art of transmutation, the secret of renewed life, and absolute command over the forces of nature. It gave a circumstantial account of the founding of the order, and a biography of its originator, C. R. C., a Teuton.

This mysterious personage, whose name, time, and birth-place are not divulged, was at a very early age inspired with a resolve to continue the work of human enlightenment begun by Christianity. He had been placed in a cloister by his parents to be educated, but at the age of fifteen set out with a companion to visit the Holy Land. At Cyprus the companion died, and the boy pressed on alone to Damascus, intending to make his way to Jerusalem. At Damascus, however, intelligence came to him of an inspired circle of

wise men living in an unknown city of Arabia, called Damcar. They were credited with the possession of great secrets and the reports of the wonders they performed so inflamed the boy's ambition, that he forgot the object of his journey, and bargained with certain Arabians that they should carry him to the city of Damcar. On his arrival there, he was received by the wise men, not as a stranger but as one whom they had expected. They took him into their confidence, initiated him into their fraternity, and instructed him in all branches of occult science. At the end of three years, having made himself master of their philosophy, he left them, crossed the Red Sea to Egypt, and proceeded to Fez in accordance with directions given to him by his instructors. Here he performed evocations, practised the arts of magic, and completed the period of his initiation, and finally crossed to Spain in order to begin the promulgation of his new system of philosophy. But the Spanish scholars laughed at him. They professed to have learnt black magic from the best possible authority—from the devil himself—at Salamanca, and they did not take kindly to a revolution of their methods. In just indignation, he left Spain, and sought the scholars of other countries, but in all a similar reception was given to him. The true and infallible axiomata out of which all faculties, arts, and sciences were to be reconstructed "were generally disregarded, and he returned disappointed to Germany, where he ruminated in solitude and seclusion on his universal philosophy."* After five years, when he had reduced his system to writing, the projected reformation returned irresistibly to his mind. He could not bear the thought that the great practical secrets he had acquired should be lost to the world, and he determined to establish a society, so that the knowledge might be perpetrated. After this manner, says the pamphlet, began the fraternity of the

* Waite, p 203.

Rosy Cross ; first by four persons only. They caused a house of the Holy Spirit to be erected, healed the sick, initiated new members, and then, commanded by the founder, C. R. C., departed as missionaries in several countries to disseminate their knowledge in secret. After many years C. R. C. died, and his grave was unknown for 120 years—the original members of the fraternity died, and it is doubtful whether those who succeeded them had attained to the highest wisdom. The sepulchre of the founder was still concealed, but it was discovered by adepts of the third generation, and the discovery operated so strongly upon the existing members of the order that they decided to share their knowledge and powers among all worthy persons who might apply to them for initiation. The pamphlet concluded by inviting a select number of sympathetic persons to join the fraternity. No signatures were given, but those who desired to communicate could do so by the publication of letters which would not escape the notice of the brethren. Of course such a publication as this, when the study of magic was at its zenith, caused great excitement. Innumerable letters were printed in and out of Germany by persons seeking initiation. The story of C. R. C. was criticised, and, as may be supposed, fared badly. There were obvious discrepancies in it. Where was the city of Damcar? How was it that there were no records of this wonderful youth in Fez, or in the other cities he had visited? Where was the house of the Holy Spirit, &c., &c.? Nevertheless the pamphlet received general credence, and it was followed twelve months later by another, published in the same anonymous fashion, and entitled *Confessions of the Rosicrucian Fraternity, addressed to the learned in Europe*. It confirmed the first publication, still insisted on the necessity of a reformation in philosophy, still offered initiation to meritorious applicants, but gave a hint of another motive in its

violent abuse of the Pope. Renewed excitement followed; the leading students of magic began to compare notes, and could not find that any among them had received initiation; the fraternity was denounced, its theological animadversions indignantly repudiated, and after a while the subject died out of the public mind. This was in 1620, and it was not until 1785 that the fraternity showed any sign of its continuous existence. Then was published, at Altona, by an unknown author, *Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, and it proved, if documents so mysterious can be held to prove anything, that the brotherhood was still alive. It has been their last manifesto. It established, by the general admission of magic students, the true nature of the Rosy Cross symbolism, and fitly closes the memorials of the fraternity. What has become of it, is matter of almost entire conjecture. Mr. Waite* sums up his able enquiry with a few desultory facts concerning it which have since come to light. In a Latin pamphlet, generally unknown, by Henricus Neuhusius, and dated 1618, *i.e.* three years after the appearance of the Altona pamphlet, it is stated that the "high Rosicrucian adepts" migrated to India, and it is asserted at this day that they inhabit the table lands of Thibet. Their supposed Oriental pilgrimage may be traced as far eastward as the island of Mauritius. The recent dispersion of a valuable private library has brought to light the existence of a very curious and seemingly genuine manuscript, which relates how the Comte de Chazel, having accomplished the performance called the *magnum opus*, proceeded to initiate Dr. Sigismund Bacstrom into the mysteries of the Rosy Cross Order, exacting many extraordinary conditions and many solemn promises. This wonderful proceeding took place on September 12th, 1794, in the Isle of Mauritius, district of

* Waite, p. 210.

Pampelavuso. "It is the last known act of any member of the society, real or supposed," since the modern Rosicrucian societies here and in America, have nothing but their name to connect them with the original fraternity. For all that is known to the contrary, the genuine Order of Rosicrucians may still exist, but its brethren keep well the secret of their initiation.

The practice of ceremonial magic, except in connection with one or other of the occult sciences, becomes, if not less frequent, more secret as we approach modern times. Its place has been taken by a pure mysticism, which, in this part of the world, has identified itself with all the most important branches of Christianity. Its foundation may be traced to the Neo-Platonic or Alexandrian quest after supreme knowledge,* and its introduction to Christianity is probably due to the writings of Philo and his followers, whose influence was strong in the early church.† Ennemoser says,‡ "the New Platonists stood at the point where antiquity and the modern world divide. They stood yet nearer to the mysteries, and knew, in a place like Alexandria, certainly much more of them than people usually imagine. They united the mystic theology of the Egyptians with the philosophy of the Greeks. . . . The coming together of the Jews who had returned from Asia with Zoroastrian ideas, and of the Greek philosophers and Egyptian mystics at Alexandria . . . soon after the commencement of the Christian era, originated that remarkable school in which at once all the tendencies of the Greek philosophy, with the doctrines of the Orientals; of the Jewish Kabbalah, with the reflections and speculations of the later Occidentalists, amalgamated. . . . Its disciples exerted themselves to defend falling Paganism, but their principles came on many sides so near Christianity, that they unconsciously produced a powerful influence on the

* Waite, p. 194. † Davidson, I, 256; II, 340. ‡ Ennemoser, I, 442.

advocates of that religion, and their views, especially through Dionysius Areopagita, passed over to the mystics of the middle ages. Dionysius, in fact, succeeded in incorporating mysticism with Christian dogma." We cannot, of course, discuss Ennemoser's reasons for connecting Neo-Platonism and mediæval mysticism, but the line of thought seems absolutely unbroken. It was perpetuated in Germany by the writings of Paracelsus and Cornelius Agrippa, and in France and England by their translations. Throughout Europe, the rise of such sects as Quietists and Swedenborgians show a persistent recurrence of mystic thought. In our own nation, Thomas Vaughan the alchemist, William Law, Jane Lead, and in our own day, the mystic philosophy of Carlyle and Emerson, shows the subject to be as prominent as it ever has been in human thought. The repetition, unfortunately it can be nothing more, of these names brings with it some sort of distinction between the titles mystic and magician. Until lately there was none and perhaps there is no real one now. Given a belief in superhuman existences, and the possibility of communicating with them, the methods of doing so cannot be classed by any rigid standard. The appeal to ritual is less frequent, since its objects can be attained by other less trying methods—that is the most that can be said. It still has its disciples; indeed, we are threatened just now with a revival of some of its earliest and crudest forms, but its general re-adoption by cultured minds is hardly within the bounds of possibility. It constitutes for honest students a last resource, of which the danger is certain, and the result at least doubtful.

This paper would not be complete without a reference, however short, to some of the occult sciences with which magic has always been identified. These constitute, as a matter of fact, the practical tests by which a mystical philosophy must stand or fall, and they are invariably

appealed to as capable of affording positive results in support of it. Any of them, however, would by itself furnish ample subject matter for a paper to this society—some have already done so—so that the very briefest statement of their aims and method must now suffice.

Alchemy, to begin alphabetically, has now only an archeological interest; it is practically dead, killed by its own offspring. Its objects were the transmutation of other metals into gold and silver, and the composition of a universal medicine which should cure all diseases and confer immortality upon its discoverer. The whole science has its rise in that doctrine of correspondence which, as has been seen, forms so prominent a part of magical philosophy: animate nature shows a process of development from and through lower forms of life to its highest form—man; therefore inanimate nature—minerals and metals—are undergoing the same process of development, of which the end is the perfect metal—gold. The intermediate forms of life that we see in the world are only examples of the partial development, they and man have a common nature, they are milestones on the road to humanity; similarly, the baser metals and gold have a common nature, they are ores in the slow process of transformation. The object of the alchemist was to imitate in his laboratory this natural process, hastening it of course, so that he might obtain gold at any time, and in quantity sufficient to gratify his highest ambition. The natural process of development, although potential in all the so-called metals, could only be stimulated by an elixir known, among a thousand other names, as the “general solvent” or “universal medicine.” This, when discovered, could be applied to man himself, and would so perfect his faculties that he could attain supreme knowledge and discover the secrets of life and death. It is suggested * that

* Waite, p. 90, *et seq.*

the real aim of alchemists was human rather than metallic development, and that their invariable appeal to the doctrines of Hermes and other magicians who flourished long before the birth of alchemy, is only explicable on this supposition. Be this as it may, the fact remains that many alchemists spent life and fortune in the vain endeavour to produce gold. If they had any higher motive, their writings carefully conceal it. It is claimed, as is well known, that they were successful; that some of them did actually accomplish this portion of the *magnum opus*, but it is not claimed that their success was anything more than fortuitous; they could not repeat the processes which led to it. Chemical science of to-day, admitting to the full the value of alchemical experiments, is disposed also to admit their success.* It does not commit itself to the acceptance of such a doctrine as that of correspondences, at any rate on the hard and fast lines of magic, but on the other hand, it does not by any means deny a process of metallic development.† Many facts, notably a correspondence in the properties of metals having similar combining weights, point that way, and every treatise on chemistry is careful to disclaim even a belief in the atomicity of the so-called elements. Granted metallic development, the modern chemist however sees no reason why its end should be gold and not platinum, and granted the truth of alchemical theories, he will claim for them an examination by his own exact methods without any complicating conditions of magic, and without arcane symbolism. This is

* Unless we are prepared to reject evidence which we should unhesitatingly receive in other matters, the statement that base metals have been transmuted into silver and gold rests on a tolerably sure basis. *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society*. Paper on "Alchemy," by E. Davies, F.C.S., vol. XXII, p. 186.

† So far as reasoning goes, unaccompanied by direct proof of the conversion of the so-called elements into others, I think that there is good reason to believe in the possibility of it. *Ibid*, p. 187.

why alchemy is really dead, and this is why, though dead, its aims and theories are never likely to be lost sight of.

Astrology, though an occult science and pursued by magicians, cannot claim justly to be a part of magic.* Its conclusions depend, not upon the student, as is the case with every magical science, but upon external phenomena over which the student does not pretend to any control. Given its principles, its results are matters of calculation and comparison. The sun, moon, and planets of the solar system have, it is asserted, an appreciable influence upon the earth and upon nature, including human life, and in the case of human life, this influence is calculable. The kind of influence which each of the heavenly bodies exerts has been empirically demonstrated, so that the sum of their influences at any given moment can be worked out as the time of an eclipse is worked out, and the correctness of the result is a proof of the truth of the method. Now empiricism is the original method of nearly every science, and the knowledge gained by it is just as valuable as that obtained in any other way; but when experiment pure and simple is appealed to as the data of *a priori* reasoning, it is more than ever necessary to examine its conclusions suspiciously. Astrologers, ancient and modern, affirm that the conclusions have been sufficiently examined, and that they justify the reasoning fully. Innumerable fulfilments of astrological predictions are quoted in history, and attention is called to these. It may be said once for all that they are not sufficient. Astrology claims to be something akin to an exact science; her methods should become more perfect, and her results more exact. Are they? Waite, writing from the standpoint of a magician, says†:—"The writers who, under the names of 'Raphael' and 'Zadkiel,' issue 'text books' and 'guides' to the science, now divide between them

* Waite, pp. 9 and 164. † Waite, p. 165.

what honour or profit is to be derived from the teaching of astrology in the England of our own day." The "text books" are a series of assertions, wonderful if true, but without any attempt at proof or explanation, and depending entirely, of course, upon the success of their application to test cases. Every year each of these authors publishes an almanac containing predictions for the coming year. I have compared these predictions for two years. It is fair to say that they do not agree with each other, but I cannot find the fulfilment of either. A little ingenuity is in fact necessary to reconcile the facts with the prophecies. A personal experience of astrologers and their methods has not, moreover, been more favourable, and until some *prima facie* evidence of the success of modern astrological prediction can be adduced, the subject is hardly worth discussing.

One of the most extraordinary powers claimed by magic on behalf of humanity is that of divination, or what is now known as clairvoyance. It is essentially a process of introspection—mental vision—induced by various means, and having for its object the attainment of knowledge impossible or impracticable by the ordinary faculties. The claim is a logical expression of magical philosophy, which asserts that man has the faculty (capable of cultivation) of acquiring knowledge by direct effort of will, and the method of attainment is simply to render the physical faculties temporarily inactive, to eliminate their distracting effect, and leave the mental faculty to operate with as little hindrance as possible: to induce, in a word, the ordinary condition of abstraction. This was done in many ways, generally by attentively regarding some object: smoke, a crystal, cards, the flight of birds, the moving entrails of an animal recently killed, water; but low music, blindfolding the eyes, the perfume of incense, a gentle touch by the hand, or some simple ritual, were all frequently adopted as "aids to reflection." The

subject becomes absorbed; his mind, at first confused, becomes clear, and the desired vision or information comes to him. There is no pretence by trustworthy writers on magic that the clairvoyant really saw in the crystal the scene he described, it comes to his mind without the intervention of his eyes at all, but how, there is no attempt to explain. The possession of the clairvoyant faculty in a high degree is rare, but when intuitively high, is found to be hereditary. It may be cultivated to the extent of usefulness by most people, and in children, to the age of puberty, it is almost always present, and can be exercised without trouble. The clairvoyant state may be either self-imposed or be induced in the subject by an operator. It differs from the mesmeric trance in that it is apparently much lighter; it shows none of the physiological phenomena of mesmerism, and the will remains perfectly free. At the same time, one condition seems to develop into the other by imperceptible gradations.

The claims of magic with regard to hypnotism proper have already been discussed, while in mesmerism—induced hypnotism—the magician recognises simply a curative method known among the earliest nations* and never entirely abandoned. The histories of our own† and other religions afford numerous examples of mesmeric healing, while in more modern times the Royal touch for scrofula‡ (the evidence in favour of which, quoted by Lecky, § is apparently unimpeachable), and the success of Mesmer's treatment may be instanced. Mesmer may be said to have repopularised magic healing in France, and his fame ex-

* Ennemoser, I, 109–261.

† 2 Kings iv, 34. Acts xxviii, 8.

‡ The faculty of curing this disease is asserted to have been peculiar to the Stuart family, and through it by inheritance to some of the kings of France. Anne was the last English sovereign credited with it.

§ Lecky, vol. I, p. 84, *et. seq.*

tended to this country and Germany. To-day, faith healing and medical massage are developments of which the results are accurately ascertainable.

The position which science occupies towards the phenomena of clairvoyance and hypnotism has of late become a little uncertain. It is not long since she denounced both in very strong language; but the experiments of Reichenbach* and later psychologists have put denial of the broad facts asserted by mystics beyond all question. When it is admitted that thought can be transferred by force of will from one person to another, that the hypnotic operator can impose his will upon the subject, and control the latter completely, the claims of magic in this direction are, to all intents and purposes, conceded.

Mystic philosophy puts forward another distinct challenge to physical science on the subject of necromancy. Waite † says that the evocation of souls is "the test experiment by which the mystic gospel may be said to stand or fall," and the works of mystic writers make frequent reference to such apparitions as facts beyond dispute. Lévi, who, if a mistaken is certainly not a dishonest witness, says unequivocally, ‡ "I have evoked and I have seen." His account § of the evocation, while on a visit to London in 1854, of the spirit of Apollonius of Tyana, is one of the most deliberate and astounding claims extant on behalf of practical magic. The ritual for such services is elaborate, and the conditions under which it is practised render it unavailable to ordinary enquirers; at the same time, there is nothing in it dangerous or revolting, and there is no doubt whatever that it is yet practised occasionally. Its object, like that of other magical ceremonies, is the attainment of positive, absolute knowledge: a spirit is evoked in order that it may be

* *Ency. Brit.*, vol. XV, p. 277. † Waite, p. 74.

‡ *Dogme*, p. 260. § *Dogme*, 265, *et seq.*

questioned. No speech, however, is possible or necessary. The question shapes itself in the magician's mind, and is there answered if the spirit can and will answer it. It is asserted* that an evoked spirit will give counsel, and occasionally reveal secrets beneficial to those whom it loved on earth; but it will answer no questions relative to the desires of the flesh, nor will it unveil the secrets of a third person. In our day the place of necromantic evocation is filled, worthily or unworthily, by Spiritualism; but the communications received through this channel are, it is bare justice to them to say, altogether trivial and childish. The magician suggests that the Spiritualist's method is insufficient, that it brings him *en rapport* only with the lowest in intelligence of the spiritual beings, and that the professional medium is altogether untrustworthy. To the last opinion, science, hitherto unable to join in this discussion, gives a hearty assent.

The doctrines of magic have of late been re-stated, in some directions completely, by a fraternity known as the Theosophical Society. It was founded in New York, in 1875, by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, a Russian, and H. S. Olcott, an American, its members, "considering it advisable to unite in a dispassionate study†" of Madame Blavatsky's teachings. Its primary objects are:—1. To form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity, without regard to race, creed, sex or caste. 2. To promote the study of Aryan and other Eastern literatures, religions, philosophies, and sciences, and to demonstrate the importance of that study. 3. To investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the psychic powers latent in man. These objects are, it is needless to point out, praiseworthy from every point of view, and their attainment seems at least possible by the method of physical science. Madame

* Waite, p. 80.

† *Theosophy*, p. 13.

Blavatsky, however, dismisses this method as insufficient, pleading for the "recognition of the Hermetic Philosophy, the anciently universal wisdom-religion, as the only possible key to the absolute in science and theology." * Here,

* *Isis*, I. vii.

therefore, we have an avowed reversion to all the doctrines and dogmas of magic. To them Madame Blavatsky adds the Buddhist theories of Karma and metempsychosis which, if accepted, have not hitherto been put forward prominently by magicians of the western world; and she has finally an elaborate scheme of the development and evolution of the universe, which, so far as I can find, is original, and which certainly adds to the difficulty of her philosophy.

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APPENDIX.

SPOLA.

EASTER DAY IN ROME, 1849. A LINK IN THE CHAIN OF ITALIAN UNITY.

By J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R.Hist.S.

*Read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool,
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THE aspirations of which Mazzini was the exponent are now, impossible as they once seemed, an accomplished fact. That they are so shows, not that the intellect and will-power of Mazzini were able to revolutionise the prevalent thought and opinion of his countrymen, but that the ideas which had taken so firm a hold on Mazzini's mind found an echo in a large number of minds of the higher order throughout Italy. It is doubtful whether any human being ever really changes the course of national opinion, however great may be his powers of thought, oratory, and persuasion. National (as well as cosmical) opinions arise spontaneously and often simultaneously, remaining long dormant for want of adequate expression, yet ever gaining in intensity and immutability. After a time, however, there arises one who clothes them in words of equal intensity, and he is at once recognised as the national leader of thought. This was the case with Mazzini. Italian unity was a great national movement, firmly rooted in the minds of large numbers of Italians, perhaps for centuries past; but if we want to define this movement, and examine the process of its development, we can only see it as it existed in the mind and found expression in the language of Mazzini.

That Mazzini did not create the opinion of the country, but only gave expression to opinions already formed, is made

manifest by the result. The great central ideas of Mazzini were three in number, equal, he considered, in importance, equal in the hold they possessed on his mind, and equal in the power of words with which he enforced them. With him they were interdependent. One could not exist without the other. Yet two have been accomplished and one has not. In the former he represented the views of his countrymen, in the latter he represented chiefly his own.

The two first were *unity* and *freedom*, the third *Republicanism*. Italy is united, Italy is free, but Italy is not a Republic. The first two ideas were national, the third was Mazzinian. If, for a time, it appeared to be national, it was in appearance only, this appearance being due to a temporary irritation caused by the folly and shortsightedness of Charles Albert. The talent and capacity of his son, Victor Emmanuel, soon brought about its return to oblivion.

With the aspirations for Italian freedom, the English people have ever had the deepest and fullest sympathy. On the aspiration for Italian unity they have looked with indifference, if not with contempt. Yet the two were considered by all the great Italian Reformers to be inseparable, and later events have shown that they were so. England, united for centuries, and surrounded by a wall of sea, can hardly realise the evils which attend a number of small adjacent states in a condition of armed neutrality, and surrounded by more powerful neighbours. Great extension of territory has been seen to lead to, and often to necessitate, a military despotism, and it has therefore been taken for granted that small countries are more conducive to freedom than large ones. But a country may be too small and too feeble to acquire or sustain its freedom. There can, indeed, be little doubt that the happiness of a people is best secured in a state which is too small to sustain an important foreign policy and a large standing army to drain its resources, and at the same time too large to be in constant danger of annihilation. At any rate, the Italians can understand their own affairs better than other nations can teach them. They have gained both freedom and unity,

although many of the Italians themselves looked upon the latter as a hopeless vision ; and now, looking back on the events by the light of history we can see that without a strong and united Italy, freedom would sooner or later have given place to petty tyranny. We must, therefore, speak of Italian freedom in terms of unity, and, reading the history of Italian aspirations by the light of accomplished facts, assume that the greater contains the less, viz., that whatever may have been the forces by which liberty was first achieved, it was this consolidation by which it attained permanence and stability.

If there ever was a time when the cause of Italian unity trembled in the balance it was in the beginning of the year 1849. The events of this period cannot be looked at impartially. To the friends of Italian unity they are the heroic struggles of an enslaved, down-trodden, and long-suffering people against an ecclesiastical tyranny of the worst kind, which human forbearance could no longer sustain without resistance. To the Ultramontanes they are simply 'the horrible incidents of the Revolution of 1849—the profanity, the diabolic hatred of all holy things, the cruel torture and butchery of priests as the ministers and friends of God.' Between these two extreme views I must confess I see no middle way. We must accept the one or the other ; and if Italian Romanists, with minds fettered by the influence of centuries of ecclesiastical tyranny, can accept the former, English Protestants will have little difficulty in following them.

'There are three great questions' (says Mr. Gladstone, in his preface to Farini's 'Roman State'), 'which have successively exercised the Italian mind since the Peace of 1815. Till the death of Pope Gregory XVI. the question was whether the temporal power could be perpetuated on its old basis. From the accession of Pius IX. in 1846 to his restoration in 1849 it was whether any effectual papal sovereignty at all was

¹ *Dublin Review* for 1878. page 255. Review on Hassard's *Life of Pope Pius IX.*

compatible with constitutional freedom and the reform of abuses. After the latter event it was whether the temporal power had sufficient stability to reconstruct itself, and to stand alone when thus reconstructed.' All these questions, time and national opinion have answered in the negative. Italy is now a free and united country, and he must be a bold man who would say that this result was brought about by a fortuitous concomitance of individual mistakes.

The policy of Pope Gregory XVI. few will now venture to uphold. It was opposed during his lifetime by many, both laymen and ecclesiastics, conspicuous among the latter being Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti. But that fatal combination of moral cowardice, conservatism, and lethargy which attacks popes as well as kings, fell upon Pope Pius IX. In the words of Mr. Masson, in a Memoir of Mazzini written shortly after his death, 'how strange to remember now the accession of Pius IX. to the Papedom in 1846, and the subsequent news, in 1847 and 1848, that he was proving himself, by act after act, a rarity among popes, bent on reforming his states and governing constitutionally. What hopes, what speculations, over the new Pontificate! Pshaw! ere men had learnt the new Pope's name, down went he, and all the hopes clustered round him, in a universal vortex.'¹ It was not until 1848, two years after his accession, that he was induced to grant a so-called Liberal constitution. This constitution was embodied in an act called the 'Fundamental Statute,' and was, in reality, a mere burlesque of a limited monarchy. It consisted, it is true, in form, of King, Lords, and Commons, like our own, but two important provisos entirely destroyed its freedom of action. The first was that all Bills must pass through the Sacred College of Cardinals, and be subject to its veto; the second was that no Bill was even allowed to be sent up to the Upper House which touched in any way upon 'mixed matter,' or was contrary to the ecclesiastical canons. As every political subject in the Papal States was more or less 'mixed,' and as the canons had already given decisions relating to almost

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine* for April, 1872.

every conceivable event, it is difficult to see what work could have been left for this Parliament to do.

The granting of this 'fundamental statute,' imperfect as it was, was due, in no small degree, to the fiery eloquence of the Barnabite monk, Alessandro Gavazzi. If Mazzini sowed the seeds of Italian unity in the minds of the intelligent and thoughtful, Gavazzi scattered them among the masses, and worked upon the emotional nature of his countrymen. The philosophy of Mazzini would have worked slowly but for the emotion stirred up by Gavazzi, and the enthusiasm kindled by Gavazzi would have died out but for the intellectual support given to it by the disciples of Mazzini. In an essentially religious country like Italy, aspirations of a neutral tint, like Mazzini's, do not take on a rapid growth without an appeal to religious sentiment.

In November, 1848, the national aspirations to which Mazzini and the Giovine Italia gave a local habitation and a name, had reached their climax. Their manifestations were so patent to all, even in Rome itself, that the city became, in common parlance, 'too hot,' and Pope Pius IX. fled to Naples. This was the first visible indication to the world at large that Mazzini and the Giovine Italia Association were not a mere clique of hair-brained conspirators, but the exponents of a wide-spread national feeling. An Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, the temporal authority of the Pope was abolished, and Rome became, by the freewill of the people, for the first time since the days of Octavius Cæsar, a Republic.¹

Meanwhile, as was naturally to be expected, a reaction was setting in, and of this the clerical party did not fail to take advantage to the utmost. The sorrows and sufferings of the Holy Father, driven from home and deprived of his kingdom, naturally excited wide-spread feelings of sympathy.

¹ The Republic of 1798 was by no means either free or representative. It was forced upon the Romans by Napoleon's army, and supported from within only by the most lawless demagogues. The contrast is very striking between the voluntary exile of Pius IX. and the forcible abduction of his plucky old predecessors Pius VI. and Pius VII.

But the great hope of reaction lay in the appeal to the religious sentiment of the country. This, as we have seen, had been done, and done successfully, by the Liberals. Gavazzi, by his preaching, had turned the cause into a crusade, and had suffered persecution in consequence. Banished from Piedmont by Charles Albert, suspended from preaching, and then confined for eighteen months in a convent by Gregory XVI., again forbidden to preach even by Pope Pius IX., and again imprisoned, he was at last, by the same Pope, appointed Chaplain-General of the Legion. And now the Pope himself was in exile, and exciting sympathy on his own account. Now, if ever, was the time for the Conservatives to prove to the people that, as they had always told them, the friends of Italian unity were the enemies of religion; that, in spite of their constant protestations, in spite of a certain religious flavour given to the movement by some of the Mazzinian preachers, the whole thing was a sham; that their real object was to deprive them of their religion, and that the loss of the temporal power of the Pope meant the loss of all their spiritual blessings, of all the means of grace, of all those special religious privileges which the Catholic subjects of the Pope, indeed all true Catholics, hold so dear.

Such an attempt, indeed, was really made, and the appeal was a powerful one, and one likely to succeed with the masses, who are led by emotion rather than by reason. As Farini says, speaking of Mazzini and his followers during their period of ascendancy, 'they should reflect that, if the accomplishment of their plans be now opposed by perjured kings, slavish ministers, potent armies, barbarous strangers, worldly-minded priests, when they come to assail the Catholic religion, they will have against them the masses, who will brook, perhaps, any and every oppression except that which tramples on religious conscience.'¹

The centre-point of religious privilege and ceremonial in Rome is the celebration of the High Mass on Easter Day and

¹ *The Roman State*. By Luigi Carlo Farini, vol. iii. p. 362. Gladstone's translation.

the subsequent Benediction of the people by the Pope in the presence of the Holy Elements. Easter Day 1849 (April 8) was approaching, and the Pope had been absent from Rome five months. To the events of this day the friends of the Republic were looking forward with anxiety, the friends of the temporal power with confident hope of a reaction, followed, perhaps, by a revolution which would overturn the Republic and establish public feeling on the side of the papal power for many years to come.

The Republic was alive to the danger. Pope or no Pope, the Mass must be celebrated and the Benediction pronounced. But the priests with one consent refused to celebrate. Of the ethics of this matter we are not called upon to judge. That the motive was in part a political one can hardly be denied. But is this the first time that a religious observance has been made to serve political ends? I think I may say that there were some among the friends of the Republic whose primary motive was the desire that the people should not lose the great spiritual privilege to which, in former years, they had been accustomed. On the other hand, were all their opponents entirely unbiassed by political motives when they refused to perform the function?

The event I must give in the words of Farini; and so clear, comprehensive, and liberal-minded a view does Farini usually take of the various situations, so well does he distinguish between the spiritual and the temporal power, so accurate an estimate does he make of the character of the leading men of the century, that one almost regrets to differ from some of his conclusions in this matter. Yet that his views were sometimes contracted by national party prejudice is shown by the fact that he looked upon the unity of Italy as a wild vision of enthusiasm impossible of attainment.

His account is as follows:

‘Easter Day arrived; and the Triumvirs commanded the Canons of St. Peter’s to make ready the same magnificent function that it is usual for the Vicar of Christ to celebrate; and when these ministers of God refused, as they were bound,

to act the part of political show-masters, they found a priest who was an army chaplain, under interdict as some believed, and him they caused to celebrate episcopally (as it is called) at one of the four altars of St. Peter's, at which only the Pontiff and the Dean of the Sacred College appointed by Papal Bull are authorised to perform Mass. The church was in all its festal array; the Triumvirs were present, with a number of Deputies and public officers, the clubs, the Tuscan, Swiss, American, and English consuls; military music played. When Mass was over the priest went in procession to the great balcony of the Basilica from which the Pope ordinarily gives his blessing to his Catholic people. Amidst the flags of the Republic he bore the Holy Sacrament; and he blessed the kneeling multitude in the wide Piazza amidst the pealing of cannon and of bells; Mazzini then appeared in the balcony, and plaudits were given for the Republic. Those who saw the spectacle (and I was one), reflected sorrowfully on this cursed hypocrisy, and how a people not dieted with solid and masculine religion becomes the prey of every description of hypocrite. The priest, Dall' Ongaro, in the "*Monitore Romano*," denominated that celebration the "New Pasch," magnified the Republic, through which a free people had been blessed by Christ in Sacrament, and thus ended his panegyric: "There lacked the Vicar of Christ; but by no fault of ours; and though he was away, we had the people, and we had God!"¹

As we read this outburst of holy indignation we wonder by what pious means the temporal power was first acquired and held for eleven centuries. Had religious observances never been employed to serve political ends? Were not the friends of the temporal power even now employing weapons not altogether secular to bring about its restoration? To an unprejudiced observer the charge simply amounts to this, that in the desire not to break through an established religious custom, certain members of the Government may have been biassed by ulterior political considerations. The whole force

¹ *T. Roman State*, vol. iii. p. 358. Gladstone's translation.

of the accusation depends upon the motive, and Farini can no more read the motives of every member of the Constituent Assembly of Rome than of the Sacred College of Cardinals.

It is not, however, to the provisional government of Rome, nor the difficulties and motives of its members, but to the personality of the celebrating priest himself, that I wish now to direct attention.

The priest in question, whose name is not mentioned by Farini, was Emilio Luigi Spola, of Vercelli. He has been described to me by an Englishman who knew him intimately for many years, as 'one of the brightest, purest spirits it has been my fortune to know.'

Spola was born in 1805. His career in the Church, which can be traced from the year 1840, when he was only thirty-five, was an active, successful, and highly promising one.¹ But for his self-sacrifice in acting as he did, he would, in all probability, have become a Cardinal. In his case, at least, the motive could have been nothing else than a stern sense of duty and love to his country. His own personal interests would have led him with almost irresistible force, whatever might be the temporal position of the Pope, to maintain his ecclesiastical relations. At the very time when he threw in his lot with the friends of Italian freedom he was awaiting the result of a petition forwarded to the Pope in February, 1848, humbly begging to be admitted to the Prelature.

The aspersions which Farini endeavours to cast upon Spola, with the view, apparently, of discrediting the action of the Republic, appear extremely trivial; the only one which is even of technical importance being so ill-sustained that it has, as it stands, all the appearance of a pure fabrication.

1. In the first place, Spola was not the Pope. That so high a function should be performed by anyone except the Holy Father seems to Farini an act of sacrilege. It is difficult to trace the state of mind which leads to this conclusion in one who, like Farini, was no friend to the temporal power.

¹ *Ibid* Nos. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. and vii. of the appended documents.

The Pope, by the natural course of political events, was away from Rome. It would seem, in Farini's eyes, to be better that the Easter Mass should be left uncelebrated, that the people should be deprived of their cherished observances, and, at the same time, that the risk should be run of a restoration of the temporal power, an event which he admits to be an evil, than that the Mass should be celebrated by anyone but the Pope. At this altar, he says, only the Pope and the Dean of the Sacred College are *authorised* to perform Mass; but this was a matter of custom only, not of ecclesiastical law. Spola was in *full priestly orders*, and he was duly *authorised* by the Government which then held possession.¹ This was no case of a layman celebrating Mass, which might be considered sacrilege, but of a fully-ordained priest, who was perfectly competent to perform Mass, and to pronounce a benediction in the presence of the elements which he had himself consecrated.²

2. Secondly, we are told that Spola was, or had been, an army chaplain. This mild impeachment we may admit, without at the same time admitting all that appears to follow it. An army chaplain is not necessarily a friend to war, nor does he lose his priestly sanctity by having to minister to dying soldiers instead of luxurious citizens. Spola, however had only joined the army about a twelvemonth before, and it was by this very act of self-sacrifice, for such it was, that he first publicly avowed his enthusiasm for the cause of Italian unity and independence. An English Protestant can hardly appreciate the greatness of the sacrifice which this entailed. In the words of a memoir drawn up by Mr. J. C. Redish, of Liverpool,³ about ten years ago, when Spola was desirous of

¹ It may not be irrelevant to mention that the Government in question had turned Farini out of office, and that this may have unconsciously influenced his opinion as to its action in other matters. For usually he takes a broad and liberal view of things: he was a man of science, a member of the medical profession, with no special ecclesiastical bias, and apparently but little tainted with superstition.

² *Vide* Nos. xiii. xiv. xv. of the appended documents.

³ The present possessor of the documents relating to Spola, a copy of which is appended, and to whom I am indebted for many of the facts of his history.

returning to his native country, he, 'animated by his love for his country, voluntarily renounced all the benefits of a long career towards the Prelature by inscribing himself, at the suggestion of General Durando, as a chaplain to the first Roman Legion.' The Memoir goes on to state his services while he held this chaplaincy as follows :

'Marching at the head of the troops, he made the journey on foot from Rome to Vicenza (about four hundred miles), to encourage the people and the young men to take part in the expedition.

'His visits to the sick and wounded in the military hospitals, in all parts of Bologna, Treviso, Padua, Venetia, and Vicenza were frequent and regular ; and he rendered many particular services to the wounded at Cornuda, who were brought from Montebelluno to Treviso during the nights of May 9 and 10, 1848, affording them every possible help, spiritually as well as corporally, helping to place them in carts, and walking beside them the whole night to Treviso, where he assisted in removing them to the hospital, as also in their accommodation.

'At Vicenza, among the many who drew their last breath with him by their side, was Colonel-Commandant Delgrande, of Rome, who died in his arms at the barricades of Porta Padova, wounded in the left side by an enemy's rocket. The body had been brought from there to the hospital of the town, with others, about three o'clock P.M. on June 10, 1848. The said chaplain, Dr. Spola, having at the same time to assist many others wounded and dying.

'On the following day, being the day after the honourable capitulation, he received an order from Colonel Galletti, who succeeded the deceased Colonel Delgrande in command, and who was already on horseback ready to leave Vicenza with the Legion and troops, to take the body of Colonel Delgrande and conduct it to Rome. The execution of this order, though most difficult of accomplishment, on account of the distance to the hospital, the want of transport, and the scarcity of time, was nevertheless obeyed by the said chaplain. He went to

the hospital, and from a heap of almost naked dead he succeeded in withdrawing the body of Colonel Delgrande, and in carrying it away. He regained the last conveyance of the first Legion by passing through the files of the enemy, and this without being discovered. On the journey he placed the body in a mourning conveyance, expressly constructed to meet the exigencies of the long, heavy, and mountainous road, in which he finally brought it to Rome, where a grand funeral took place, with all honours, civil and military ; and then the body of Colonel Delgrande, who died at Porta Padova, in Vicenza, was deposited in its last sepulchre at Rome, by the chaplain, Dr. Spola, who renounced all recompense for his services.

‘On November 14, 1848, the medal of honour was conferred upon him by the Commune of Rome, with the brevet, signed by the Senator T. Corsini, for the battle of the first Legion of Rome at Vicenza.’¹

‘At the time of the two French expeditions against Rome, being actuated solely by a spirit of patriotism and Christian charity, he lent uninterrupted assistance to the courageous defenders of the walls, and at the points most threatened, taking particular care of the patriot victims.’

The above statement, which appears to be fully borne out by the appended documents, is, I think, sufficient to show that if Spola was, or had been, an army chaplain, he was no disgrace either to the army he served or to the priesthood he represented.²

Meanwhile, it is not impertinent to ask, in view of the imputations against the supporters of Italian unity, what was the polemical policy of the Pope's party? It was one of intriguing to re-enslave the country by the aid of Austrian tyranny. There can be little doubt that the Pope from the first had connived at the Austrian intervention. He had nominally consented to the expedition against the Austrians, had given his blessing to the cause of Independence, and

¹ *Vide*, on this subject, Nos. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. of the documents.

² *Vide* No. xi. of the appended documents.

promised more material assistance, and had, moreover, appointed Gavazzi, the great apostle of the crusade, chaplain-general. The promised assistance, however, was not forthcoming; and when, after the defeat of Charles Albert by Radetzky at Treviso and Cornuda, the Pope no longer concealed his philo-Austrian feelings, his Roman subjects began to think they had been betrayed, and his escape from Rome and attempted flight to Majorca were the direct result of the indignation arising from this cause. Whether this burst of indignation was fully justified by the facts of the case we cannot say, but subsequent events seem to indicate that it was. When the Pope was at Gaeta, Cardinal Antonelli told Martini (the ambassador of Charles Albert), to the latter's intense disgust, that he confidently expected the intervention of the Austrian power, nominally in defence of the Church, but in reality in order to crush by force of arms the independence of Italy.¹

3. Thirdly, it is stated that Spola was under an interdict. This indictment, however terrible it may have appeared to Italian readers, loses its force when translated into the English language and looked at with English eyes. Yet even if we were to look at it from an Ultramontane point of view, it is so qualified that we should be obliged to abandon the charge. If Mr. Gladstone's translation conveys the true meaning of the writer, which there can be no reason to doubt, the latter did not himself believe the statement. The important qualification, 'as some believe,' clearly implies that he was not of the number. Who the believers were, and whether they expressed their belief either in writing or in speech, are matters on which the author does not enlighten us. There is no hint of any evidence on the subject, and the internal evidence of the documents seems to be entirely against the truth of the statement. Spola himself stated, when in England, that he had never been condemned, tried, or cited before any tribunal, ecclesiastical or civil, in his life.² This, I think, disposes of

¹ *The Roman State*, vol. iii.

² The certificate of the Sacristan of the Church of the Sacred Wounds of

the charge so far as it relates to anything which occurred *before* the events of Easter Day, 1849. What may have taken place *afterwards*, or what decrees may have been pronounced *in consequence of* these events is, of course, entirely beside the question. Even assuming, however, the truth of Farini's statement, which is a very large assumption, it loses much of its importance when we look at the state of the ecclesiastical atmosphere. At a time when excommunications and interdicts were coming down like hailstones, it was difficult to prognosticate on whom they might fall, or even to tell on whom they had fallen. They fell on all sorts and conditions of men. The Pope, at Gaeta, issued a monitory against the Constituent Assembly at Rome *en masse*, thus destroying any hope his supporters might have of maintaining the temporal power. Nor was this all, for he anathematised all, friends and foes alike, who took any part in the elections. The effect of this act, of course, fell chiefly on his friends, and, as a natural result, the Assembly, when elected, consisted almost entirely of his avowed enemies.¹

It was by such policy as this that the Pope prepared the way for the final collapse of the temporal power, which could only be maintained so long as the accomplishment of Italian unity was artificially retarded by the presence of a foreign army.

Had Pius IX. favoured the aspirations of his fellow-countrymen and subjects after unity and independence, the popular voice would have been too strong for the opponents of the temporal power. But he pursued an opposite course. He granted a constitution which was in reality a myth; he relied for support on hostile arms while professing patriotism; and finally he took up an irreconcilable attitude in respect to the provisional government which his absence rendered

S. Francesco (No. xvii. of the appended documents) that he had celebrated Mass in that Church for five years previously, seems fully to confirm this.

¹ This Assembly, which was elected by universal suffrage, met on February 5, 1849, Galetti, who had the character of being something of a 'trimmer,' being President. The abolition of the temporal power was carried by an overwhelming majority, only eleven of the delegates out of 150 voting against it.

necessary. This being the case, can exception be taken, either on political or religious grounds, to the course pursued by Mazzini's Government on the occasion we are now considering? This, however, I am not called upon to defend. My object is simply to point out its actual bearing on the history and progress of Italian unity. By way of recapitulation I must revert to the memoir already alluded to, the facts of which were supplied by Spola during his residence in England.

'A rumour to the effect that the Liberals intended the destruction of all religion had been current in Rome for some time, spread by the anti-patriotic party, which then proudly held up its head by reason of the French being under the walls. Therefore, if that solemn Easter Day had been allowed to pass without a holy ceremony at St. Peter's, in lieu of that which, from time immemorial, the Pontiffs had been accustomed to celebrate on that day, the same party would easily, on the pretext of religion, have excited the people, and so caused a counter-revolution, in order to facilitate the entrance of the French, and in appearance to justify the conduct of Republican France, who instructed her General to say that he came to Rome not to destroy a daughter (*sic*), but to bring order, whilst order was never better maintained in the annals of pontifical history.

'On this account, Dr. Spola wishing to second the wise arrangements of the provisional municipal commission of Rome, although unworthy of so high an honour, and particularly as no simple minister had previously in the history of the world fulfilled so high a religious mission, yet, having before him the great evangelical law, viz., "Bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ovibus suis," &c., and feeling himself bound by a double and imperative duty as a patriot and a minister, he hesitated not a moment to undertake it, *by which to contribute to the religious good of the people, to the maintenance of public tranquillity, and so to prepare the ground to unite, on the first occasion, Rome with the rest of Italy*, as it fell to the lot of the Italian expedition to that city to do, on the more than

memorable date of September 20, 1870, and when, instead of an armed resistance, it met with the greatest sympathy from the people.'

Mr. Redish, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone on behalf of Spola, says: 'It was, in fact, a matter of the highest, nay, of vital importance, to have the sacred functions performed on that Easter Sunday in the usual way, *or the Republic would have fallen*. Although crushed three months later by force of arms, there can be no doubt of the immense effect which the temporary existence of the Republic had in subsequently leading to the result of Italian unity; and the striking service rendered by Dr. Spola on that memorable occasion would appear fully to justify the commendation bestowed upon him by the provisional government in their vote of thanks, when they declare that "he had proved himself to be a true Italian, and to have deserved well of his country."

'The moral courage requisite for the performance of so bold an act of patriotism almost transcends ordinary conception. We may admire the courage of the soldier ready to die on the field of battle for his country, or the courage displayed in the cabinet by a minister in carrying out great designs for the good of the nation, for such men are sure of the plaudits of their compeers, and the approval of large numbers of their countrymen; but higher still even than these would seem to be the courage of the priest who, to save his country, braved the certain displeasure of his ecclesiastical superiors and equals, with nothing to support him but the consciousness that he was performing a noble act of self-sacrifice. Sure of the implacable hostility of the Pope and his party if ever they regained the temporal power in Rome, while saving for the time the freedom of his country, as regards himself, he sacrificed his prospects, he lost his fortune, he risked his life. The fortune of war proved against him, and, with more justice than even a famous Pope, he can declare that "having loved righteousness and hated iniquity, he has had to live in exile."'

As to the relation which the Revolution of 1849 bore to the later developments of Italian history, a writer in the 'Saturday Review,' in an article on Garibaldi, says: 'The foundations of Italian liberty and unity were laid in the unsuccessful struggle of 1849.'

None of the writers I have quoted, however, and none that I have seen, appear to me to grasp the true significance of maintaining the Republic during the years 1848-9 till it fell before a foreign power. They speak in a vague general way of the important moral effect produced, of 'preparing the ground,' of the avoidance of anything that would seem to justify French interference, &c. But the question is neither a sentimental nor a metaphysical one. There is a real tangible difference between a conquered nation and a nation freed from foreign tyranny. If the Roman Republic of 1849 had fallen by internal opposition and dissension, Rome would still have been taken by Victor Emmanuel in 1870, but she would then have been obliged to confess that she was once more the prey of a foreign power. As it was, she could welcome the King as her deliverer, and accept from him a constitutional government of a similar pattern to that which had only been suppressed by the power of a foreign army. Although twenty-one years had elapsed, the Government of 1870 may be considered in a certain sense continuous with that of 1849. This was the first time the Romans had been freed from foreign control and at liberty to choose for themselves, and they could consistently accept from an Italian monarch a constitution not essentially dissimilar to that which they had formerly upheld and fought for on that memorable July 3, 1849, when the army of the French Republic marched into Rome over the dead bodies of Italian patriots.

The papal power was restored, but not by Italy. Meanwhile the germs of Italian freedom, crushed for the time in Rome, were destined to take root elsewhere, and to spread, in process of time, throughout the entire peninsula. It was not to Mazzini, not to Gavazzi, not even to Garibaldi, but to the King of Sardinia, and his minister Count Cavour, that the task

of bringing about the unity of Italy finally fell. The philosopher could work out the perfect ideal ; it remained for the practical statesman to adapt it to the actual state of the country.

The Pope did not return to Rome until the following April (1850), but long before this an urgent order had been issued for the arrest of Spola. This high-handed proceeding seems to be entirely contrary to the spirit of all International law, for all Spola did was authorised by the *de facto* Government, and he had committed no ecclesiastical offence. The obvious intention was to keep him in prison for the remainder of his life without a trial. He escaped, however, to Civita Vecchia, and succeeded in getting on board an English vessel bound for London. The following year (1850) he went to Liverpool, where he remained for twenty-nine years, earning his living till he was seventy-four years old by teaching Italian, the latter part of the time (from 1868 to 1879) being Italian master at Queen's College.

The importance of Spola's work as a factor in the history of Italian unity was recognised in a practical manner by the Government of King Humbert. For when, being no longer able to support himself by teaching owing to his advancing years, he consented to have his case brought before the Italian authorities, he received a pension, and was thus enabled, after thirty years of exile, to pass the few remaining years of his life in his native country. At the same time, by a decree of King Humbert, dated February 13, 1881, he was reinstated in the chaplaincy which he had held thirty-two years before in the Italian army. By these acts the Italian Government showed its virtual continuity with the National Assembly of 1849, and its recognition of the service at that time rendered to the cause of Italian freedom and unity by Emilio Luigi Spola.

APPENDIX.

I.

Of the various documents referred to, the first in chronological order is a certified copy of the Register of Spola's baptism, in September 1805, from the records of births and baptisms of the parish church of St. Mary the Greater, commune of Vercelli, for that year.¹

The next takes us to the year 1840, when we find him in holy orders and pursuing a certain course of studies on Church matters.

II.

Most Blessed Father.

[Translation.

Don Luigi Spola, priest of the Metropolitan of Vercelli in Piedmont, finding in himself the ability to profit as much in spiritual as in temporal matters, prays your Holiness to accord him the faculty of reading every sort of prohibited book, to the end that he may confute on opportune occasions the errors against the Church and against ethics, rendering himself the more useful to the same, be it in evangelical preaching or in sacramental confession, and for these motives alone accompanying he prays your Holiness to please to accord him the above favour.

Feria Sexta die 7 Augusti 1840.

Auctoritate Sanctissimi D. N. Gregorii, PP. XVI. nobis commissa liceat oratori (si vera sunt exposita) quoad vixerit legere ac retinere, sub custodia tamen ne ad aliorum manus perveniant. Libros prohibitos de Theologia Scholastica, Dogmatica, et Morali, de Jure Canonico, de Concionibus, de Sacris Ritibus, et de expositione sacræ scripturæ; item Grammatico, Rhetorico, Poetico, Philosophico, Mathematico, Astronomico, Historico, Sacro, Ecclesiastico, et prophano, exceptis operibus Dupuy, Volney, M. Reghellini, Pigault-le-Brun, Potter, Bentham, J. A. Dulaure, Fetis et Constantine de la Grèce, Nouvelle del Casti, et aliis operibus de

¹ The originals of the translated documents are in Italian. The Latin documents, emanating from the Vatican or other ecclesiastical sources, I have left in the original.

obscenis et contra religionem ex professo tractantibus. In quorum fidem.

[Signed] FR. TH. ANTONINI DEGOLA O. P. S. C. J. *Secret.*
Gratis omnino quocumque titulo.

[*Endorsed.*]

To the Holiness of our Most Holy Pope Gregory XVI., happily reigning. For the Priest Don Luigi Spola of Vercelli.

The third and fourth relate to the same period.

III.

Most Blessed Father.

[Translation.

Don Luigi Spola, priest of the Metropolitan of Vercelli in Piedmont, perceiving himself able to profit as much in spiritual as in temporal matters, prays your Holiness to grant him permission to say Holy Mass an hour before dawn, or an hour after midday upon any necessary occasion.

[*Endorsed.*]

To the Holiness of our Most Holy Pope Gregory XVI., happily reigning.

Die 29 Augusti 1840.

Ex Audientia SSmi

SSmus remisit preces arbitrio Ordinarii cum facultatibus necessariis et opportunis ad effectum indulgendi, ut orator, accedente justa et rationabili causa, sacrum peragere valeat una hora vel ante auroram vel post meridiem: dummodo intuitu hujusmodi indulti nihil percipiat præter manualet consuetam.

Contrariis non obstantibus.

[Signed] A. CARD. DEL PRAGO.

For the priest Don Luigi Spola of Vercelli.

IV.

Most Blessed Father.

[Translation.

Don Luigi Spola, priest of the Metropolitan of Vercelli in Piedmont, finding himself able to profit as much in spiritual as in temporal matters, prays your Holiness to grant him permission to bless the sacred vessels in any case of need.

Vercellensis diocesis.

Sacrorum Rituum Congregatio concessit ad Triennium supra-scripto oratori facultatem benedicendi pro usu dumtaxat ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Vercellen. et Parœciæ sub qua moratur dumtaxat eam sacram suppellectilem in qua Sacra Unctio non adhibetur ; dummodo tamen expressus accedat sui Rm̃i ordinarii consensus.

Pro Eñno et Rñno Domino Cardinali Pedicini Præfecto

[Signed] J. F. CARD. FREGORAZZIA.

J. G. FATALI, S. R. C. *Secret.*

Die 16 Septembris 1840.

[*Endorsed.*]

*To the Holiness of our most Holy Pope Gregory XVI,
happily reigning.*

The priest Don Luigi Spola di Vercelli, &c.

The next paper is a testimonial from the Sacred Congregation of the Council which accounts for the first years following the attainment of the foregoing privileges, and certifying to the good use he has made of them ; thus indicating the favourable position in which he stood with his ecclesiastical superiors. Dated April 30, 1846.

V.

Testimonial of the Sacred Congregation of the Council.

Testor ego subscriptus R. D. Aloysium Spola Vercellensem ac juris utriusque ad formam Const. S. M. Leonis XII. 'Quod divina sapientia' a mense Novembris anno 1840, usque ad Julium 1845 (quo tempore munere functus sum Auditoris R. P. D. Alexii de Castellis a Secretis, S. Con. Concilii) practice SS. Canonum disciplinæ operam navasse apud laudatum Præsulem ; singulari præterea ac valde laudabili in suo obeundo munere præstitisse diligentia ; ac ea tandem dedisse sive in exaranda causarum synopsi sive in earum disquisitione specimina, ut eum haud parum in canonica jurisprudentia profecisse merito existimaverim.

Quare hoc testimonium quæsitus eidem libenter remitto.

[Signed] CARMINE MEROSI GORI.

Hac die 30 Aprilis, 1846.

Testor ego infrascriptus Sac. Congregationis Concilii secretarius subscriptum Carminem Gori talem fuisse, qualem se signavit. In

quorum fidem, datum Romæ ex secretaria concilii hac die 20 Maji 1846.

[Signed] ARCHIEPISCOPUS MELITENUS, *Secret.*

VI.

Constantinus Tituli S. Silvestri in Capite Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyter Cardinalis Patrizi, Sacrosanctæ Patriarchalis Basilicæ Liberianæ Archipresbyter, SSmi D. N. Papæ Vicarius Generalis Romanæque curiæ ejusque districtus Judex Ordinarius, etc.

Universis et singulis has nostras litteras inspecturis notum facimus et testamur R. D. Aloisium Spola Vercellensis Diocœsis Sacerdotem pluribus abhinc annis commendatitiis litteris munitum ordinarii sui in hac alma Urbe versari, ubi Philosophiæ ac Theologiæ tum Dogmaticæ tum Morali sedulam operam dedit, deinde expleto juris utriusque cursu ad formam constitutionis S. M. Leonis XII. Doctoris Laurea donatus fuit, tandem practicæ SS. Canonum disciplinæ tum in exaranda causarum synopsi tum in earum disquisitione summa cum laude ac profectu vacavit apud S. Congregationem Concilii, et S. Consultationis Tribunal. Præterea testamur bonorum morum, pietatis, religionis, ac Ecclesiasticæ gravitatis specimina indesinenter dedisse, prout ex authenticis in secretaria nostri Tribunalis exhibitis testimoniis novimus.

In quorum etc. Dat. Romæ ex Ædibus Vicariatus die 8 Mensis Februarii anni 184 septimi.

JOS. CANALIS PS. CONSTŪS. VICEG.

(L. S.) JO. CAUCUS. TARNASSI, *Secret.*

VII.

Copy of certificate of Studio Pratico at a sitting of the Supreme Tribunal of the Holy Council.

Eos conventus, qui tribus abhinc annis, singulis hebdomadibus apud nos haberi solent ad criminalis supremi Fori causas disquirendas, Illustrissimus ac admodum Reverendus Aloysius Spola, Vercellarum archidicecescos sacerdos, laudabili diligentia ventitavit, scientiamque suam [pro] difficillimis quæstionibus evolvendis, [pro] delinquendi ratione penitius investiganda, [pro] legibus ad speciem facti perapte accommodandis, cum apertissime, ac nitidissime declaraverit, non possumus quin laudibus extollere singularem ingenii sive alacritatem ac facilitatem in explanandis justis pro-

priisque ideis propter diversarum cognitionem scientiarum, qua præditus, ideoque dignus a nobis habitus est, quem hisce litteris donaremus in quarum fidem hæc libenti, volentique animo subscripsimus, signoque nostro munivimus.

Datum ex ædibus nostris die 18 mensis Januarii 184 octavi.

[Signed] ALOYSIUS COLOMBO DE CUCCARO.

We then come to his appointment as Chaplain in the First Legion. This is dated June 1 of the same year, only a few days before the death of Colonel Delgrande.

VIII.

In the Name of God.

[Translation.

Signor Don Luigi Spola is appointed Chaplain of the second battalion of the First Legion with which he left Rome, in which office he will avail himself of the letters of faculty which by any means the Holy Father sends to all the chaplains of the crusade.

D. ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI, *Head Chaplain.*

Vicenza, June 1, 1848.

IX.

In the Name of God.

[Translation.

Signor Don Luigi Spola inscribed himself in the roll of the first Roman Legion the 23rd day of March, 1848; left Rome with the same Legion the 26th day of the same month, and by the order of the 13th day of April was appointed acting Chaplain in the second battalion of the said Legion.

The deceased Colonel Delgrande having lost the regular Brevet, this serves for verification of the facts stated, and is of legal force to Spola as his Brevet, dating from the aforesaid 23rd day of March, 1848.

DON ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI, *Barnabite, Head Chaplain.*

Vicenza, June 11, 1848.

X.

First Roman Legion.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, Surgeon-Major, do hereby certify that the Reverend Signor Luigi Spola left Rome last March 26th, with the Legion, serving in the capacity of Chaplain thereto, and, as far as

has come under my notice, he has always followed the marches, discharging his duty in the most edifying manner. I also attest that at the stations of Bologna, Treviso, Padova, and Vicenza, he frequently visited the sick that we had in the military hospitals of those towns. He rendered them every species of comfort which lay in his power. I feel obliged here particularly to specify the unusual earnestness shown by the said Reverend Dr. Spola in the assistance he lent to the wounded at Cornuda, who were taken from Montebelluno to Treviso, on the night of May 9th and 10th, he accompanying the carts on foot, not only giving spiritual help, but also performing whatever personal services he was capable of ; not refusing to assist in placing them in carts, and taking them out again ; acting with firmness and most evident brotherly Christian charity. I must also add, to give just praise to the aforesaid Dr. Luigi, that without any selfish aim in view he, after the excessive hardships suffered at Vicenza, undertook the duty of accompanying from that town to this capital the mortal remains of our Colonel, Natale Del Grande, enduring, without discouragement, the fatigues and vexations of so very long a march. This I can conscientiously attest, the facts being fully known to me, and in strict conformity with the truth.

In this belief,

[Signed] DR. ROBERTO LEONINI,
Surgeon-Major.

Rome, September 20, 1848.

To this is appended a certificate from Colonel Galletti, Colonel Del Grande's successor.

I certify that the said Don Luigi Spola has always acted with zeal in his position, and also that he refused to accept any fees for conducting the body of Colonel Del Grande to Rome.

[Signed] COLONEL GALLETTI.

Rome, September 22, 1848.

The next paper is the brevet of the Commune of Rome, dated November 14, 1848, conferring the medal of honour.

XI.

S. P. Q. R.

[Translation.

The Commune of Rome has conferred on the chaplain, Dr. Luigi Spola, who, during the engagement of the first Roman Legion at Vicenza, the 10th day of June, 1848, has deserved well of his

country, the medal of honour with the senatorial arms, on the reverse the legend: PUGNA STRENUE AD VICENTIAM PUGNATA IV. EIDUS IUNIAS MDCCCXLVIII: in lasting witness of which the present diploma is granted.

Given from the Capitol, November 14th, 1848.

[Signed] T. CORSINI, *Senator*.

GIUSEPPE BOSSAR, *Secretary*.

Then follows the certificate from Gavazzi, the Chaplain-General.

XII.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the Chaplain, Dr. Luigi Spola, on the day of the gallant defence of Vicenza, assisted the whole day the troops of the Legion at the barricade of the Podova Gate, receiving the last breath of Colonel Del Grande, and with the same care that he tended him during the last moments of his life he provided for the removal of his mortal remains to Rome, to be laid in the family sepulchre. This occasioned the said Chaplain much trouble and no common amount of labour, but it must ever redound to his honour.

In faith of which, &c.

ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI,

Head Chaplain of the said Legion.

Rome, December 11, 1848.

XIII.

Provisional Municipal Commission of Rome. Protocol No. 210.

[Translation.

The priest Luigi Spola is hereby authorised, in pursuance of his voluntary offer, to celebrate Solemn High Mass on the morning of Sunday, the 8th instant, in the Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican.

CURZIO CORBOLI, *The President.*

ANTONIO FABRI, } *The Secretaries.*
LEOPOLD FABRI, }

The Hall of the Capitol. The 7th day of April, 1849.

XIV.

Provisional Municipal Commission of Rome. Protocol No. 315.

[Translation.

It is hereby certified that the citizen and priest Luigi Spola, of

Vercelli, has celebrated the Solemn High Mass in the Basilica of Saint Peter, in the Vatican, on the 8th instant, being Easter Sunday, at which were present the representatives of the people in the popular assembly, the citizen Triumvirs, the Ministers, the High officers of State, and troops of every arm.

It is further certified that the said Luigi Spola appeared on the Great Centre Balcony of the said Basilica after the said Mass, with the Venerable Sacrament, and gave the Benediction to the people, who were collected in the Piazza in great numbers, in the presence of the troops and the said officials.

By this the citizen and priest Luigi Spola has shown himself to be a true Italian, and has deserved well of his country ; especially as very many priests had refused to fulfil their duty in the above two services.

Given at the Hall of the Senate in the Capitol, the 9th day of April 1849.

For the Committee,
[L.S.] CURZIO CORBOLI, *The President.*
FABRI, *Secretary.*

XV.

Provisional Municipal Commission of Rome. Protocol No. 319.

[Translation.

Citizen Spola,—Enclosed in the present you will find the asked-for letter, as a certificate for the services rendered at St. Peter's on Holy Eastertide. You will also find the emolument which the Commission has thought fit to grant you in C. 10. 34, for which you are requested to remit through bearer two words of acknowledgment—in order that it may be entered to the usual expenditure account.

Brotherly Greeting.

For the Commission,

A. D. PASQUALI.

To the Citizen Luigi Spola.

[No date.]

XVI.

After this he appears to have returned for a time to his work as an Army Chaplain.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify to having seen in the Hospital at Montorio, on the 30th April, 1849, the citizen-priest Luigi Spola assisting the wounded with true religious piety.

BOARI, *Surgeon-Major.*

Rome, May 8 1849.

XVII.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, sacristan of the venerable church of the Sacred Wounds of S. Francisco in Rome, testify that the Revd. Dr. Spola for the last five years celebrates in the above Church at half-past ten.

In Faith whereof, &c.

V. STARNA, *Priest.*

Rome, July 13, 1849.

No. XVIII. of the series is a passport of admission to the newly established kingdom of Italy, dated April 2, 1862. On this occasion he went as travelling companion to a Liverpool merchant. He did not of course venture into any of the Pope's territory.

The first of the more recent papers is a certificate from the Consul General at Liverpool.

XIX.

[Translation.

This certificate is given at the request of Signor Luigi Spola, of Vercelli, who left his country about thirty years ago on account of the political disturbances of that period, and took up his residence in this city of Liverpool, where he led an honourable and respected life till the present day, on which he leaves here to return to his native country.

The Consul-General CAPELLO.

Consulate-General of H.M.
The King of Italy.

Liverpool,
September 1, 1879.

XX.

A general certificate from the Mayor of his native town. Nov. 23, 1880.

XXI.

Certificate from Italian Civil Court. Nov. 26, 1880.

XXII.

Certificate from the Secretary of Queen's College, Liverpool, testifying to his ability as a teacher. Feb. 3, 1881.

XXIII.

Decree of King Humbert reinstating him in his former position of Chaplain in the Italian Army. Feb. 13, 1881.

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